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SportExtra

Schumacher wins the Belgian Grand Prix, Racing: Proton looks ready to sparkle again, Unrivalled coverage in our 5-page section

Media Defecting from the BBC, G2 pages 7/9



A reveller enjoys children's day at the Notting Hill carnival yesterday Mas bands, page 4

PHOTOGRAPH: DAVID BILLYE

11-year-olds below level set for pupils aged 7 Junior schools hit by crisis

John Carvel Education Editor

GILLIAN Shephard's strategy for trumpeting the success of the Government's education policies has been thrown off course by the publication today of evidence that many children leaving primary school have not attained the level in reading, writing and arithmetic expected of seven-year-olds.

The Education and Employment Secretary had been planning on her return from holiday tomorrow to proclaim improvements in this month's A level and GCSE results as evidence that the national curriculum and the Government's other education reforms were working.

But a study by John Marks, a right-wing member of the School Curriculum and Assessment Authority, shows the average 11-year-old is nearly two years behind the expected standard in maths. As pupils prepare to start secondary school, 16 per cent of girls and 19 per cent of boys are at or below the level of arithmetic achievement expected of a seven-year-old.

His critics, however, suggest that performance in English is little better. The average 11-year-old is 18 months behind Level 4, the expected standard. Nine per cent of the girls and 15 per cent of the boys have not progressed beyond the target for seven-year-olds.

Dr Marks based his analysis on raw data from the Department for Education of performance by nearly 500,000 11-year-olds in tests last year. He found the top 3,000 schools were more than a year ahead

11-year-old tests

Table with 2 columns: Top scoring LEAs and Lowest scoring LEAs. Lists school names and their corresponding LEA scores.

Tables based on mean performance of schools in each LEA

of the bottom 3,000 schools in English, and more than 18 months ahead in maths.

Within the same education authority, pupils at the best schools were on average nearly four years ahead in English and 5 1/2 years ahead in maths, compared with those in the worst.

Mrs Shephard admitted in January that less than half of all 11-year-olds reached the expected standard in English and maths, but her officials did not calculate the extent of their under-achievement. She has promised much fuller information on this year's tests, including performance tables showing the percentage reaching the target standard for English, maths and science at every primary.

county of Norfolk, 11-year-olds in the lowest-scoring school were on average four years behind the expected standard in English and five years behind in maths. Those in the top-scoring school were on average about eight months ahead of the expected standard in English and a year ahead in maths.

Dr Marks acknowledged that higher-performing schools may take in more children of above average ability, but he said poor results could not be excused by social disadvantage in a catchment area.

"It is a tragedy that young people are not being given the essential tools to make sense of their secondary education — the basic skills in arithmetic and reading."

He said the Government should publish data to allow performance of individual schools to be identified. David Blunkett, the shadow education secretary, said the research would "torpedo any effort by the Government to pretend its policies are working."

Ministers should investigate why some schools in disadvantaged areas were doing much better and spread the ingredients of success. Education department officials said performance tables would be published in March to identify where further progress had to be made.

David Hart, general secretary of the National Association of Head Teachers, said Dr Marks painted an unduly pessimistic picture. Preliminary figures for 1996 suggested a significant improvement. "The problem is that the Government has not set a national target of how many 11-year-olds should achieve Level 4. Until it does, it is facile for Dr Marks to argue that we are substantially behind."

Kate Adie condemned over Dunblane report

Andrew Cull Media Correspondent

THE BBC and its chief news correspondent, Kate Adie, were criticised yesterday by a senior executive in the corporation for serious misjudgment in the reporting of the Dunblane massacre.

Colin Cameron, BBC Scotland's head of television, accused the reporter of striking a clinical and detached tone in her coverage of the killing of 16 children and their teacher.

Speaking at the Edinburgh International Television Festival, he said: "Kate Adie's tone when she arrived was wrong — the precision of her delivery was not appropriate to the moment."

Mr Cameron, whose criticism was aimed at Ms Adie's Nine O'Clock News report the day after the massacre six months ago, said: "It was nothing to do with the quality of her journalism — just the tone of her voice."

Later he added: "Kate brings, because of the nature of the work she has been doing, a presence with her. For the people of Dunblane it turned the coverage from one of an appalling tragedy to one of a world disaster."



Kate Adie... clinical tone of report 'not appropriate'

Ms Adie said last night: "It would be improper for me to comment on remarks made by a member of BBC staff."

However, insiders said yesterday that she was "not happy", and one colleague said she had been venomous about Mr Cameron.

A BBC spokesman said: "Kate Adie... covers a wide range of stories and it was entirely appropriate for her to report on Dunblane. Colin has said these were his personal views."

reporter has worked for the BBC for 27 years and came to prominence for her reports on the storming of the Iranian Embassy by the SAS in 1980.

She has won awards for her work including coverage of the Tiananmen Square massacre, the Zebrugga disaster and the Gulf war, and is regarded as one of the BBC's toughest reporters. She has a reputation as a loner, and is unpopular with some colleagues.

Her reports from Libya after US aircraft bombed Tripoli in 1986 were heavily criticised by the then Tory chairman Norman Tebbit, who accused her of anti-US bias.

BBC news executives in London were surprised at Mr Cameron's comments and said his criticism had not previously been raised with them. Some speculated that his unexpected intervention was part of a continuing spat between BBC Scotland and the London-based news and current affairs directorate.

Last year a Panorama interview with John Major on the eve of the Scottish local election was banned north of the border by the courts.

Ex-minister claims Howard knew of sentencing chaos

Michael White and Duncan Campbell

A FORMER Conservative Home Office minister with extensive inside knowledge of Whitehall last night accused the Home Secretary, Michael Howard, of a calculated cover-up in the row over the early release of prisoners by the Prison Service.

The former minister insisted it was "totally and utterly unbelievable" to imagine that the service's decision to change the basis on which sentences are calculated could have been done without the knowledge of senior ministers and officials.

He said his former colleagues had miscalculated the scale and speed of the policy change. They had done so, he suggested, in the hope that after a handful of such early releases from prison, Mr Howard would be able to tell the Conservative Party conference in October that "this will never happen again".

The law would be changed in the forthcoming Criminal Justice Bill — as had been planned. "This is a Home Office minister who interferes morning, noon and night. What you have here is a classic Home Office-driven interference to which

'This is a Home Secretary who interferes morning, noon and night. What you have here is a classic Home Office driven interference to which the Prison Service responded, but which got out of control,' he told the Guardian.

The former minister, who is still an MP and declines to be identified, said that, on the basis of his experience, senior Home Office lawyers would have advised the Prison Service (PSA).

"Such advice is given and copied to the Permanent Secretary, ministers and their special advisers, and others. In the Home Office there will be 10 to 20 copies. It will probably have been discussed around Michael Howard's table.

"If you've been through that sort of exercise it is totally and utterly unbelievable that anyone would ignore that sort of advice. The notion that the consequences of this advice could have taken any minister or senior adviser in Queen Anne's Gate [where the Home Office is situated] by surprise is total baloney."

"In today's PSA when you have advice from lawyers and you know it has been copied to the Home Secretary and everyone else, telling you the previous calculations [of sentences] is wrong, there is no question but that, if you don't want your head to roll, you act upon it. You draw up revised guidelines, however clumsily."

"Ministers are now saying they were not aware of the extent of the releases. But everyone, including the Home Secretary, will have known the advice the lawyers gave."

Inside Britain Doctors last night condemned the makers of a video featuring NHS surgical operations which is due to go on sale today. 3

World News The Democratic convention opens today in Chicago with a cloud hanging over President Clinton because of his welfare policy. 6

Economics There's new evidence that cutting welfare spending decreases growth rather than boosting the annual rate. 11

Sport Manchester United yesterday came back twice from behind to draw 2-2 with a much improved Blackburn. 15

Comment and Letters 8, Obituaries 10, G2, Crossword 15, Weather 16, Radio and TV 18, 770261 307316

The Guardian International & The Observer Travel Bag advertisement. Includes an image of a travel bag and details about its features and ordering information.

# Democrats tame ghosts of Chicago '68

The party is taking no chances of a re-run of the 'police riot' at an earlier Windy City convention that stunned America. But it has little to fear from yippie activists

### Monday sketch



Jonathan Freedland

THE grandest statue in Chicago's Grant Park has a special gleam this week. Large gobs of mechanic's grease have been larded all over it — to prevent nostalgically-minded rebels from climbing up it.

In 1968, the bronze memorial to the civil war general John Logan and his steed was stormed by hippies, yippies and assorted anti-war protesters, who scaled it, sat on the general's head and waved the flag of the communist Viet Cong. In so doing, they gave the world one of the lasting images of the chaos that engulfed the Chicago Democratic convention of 1968.

Now the Democrats have returned, and the city fathers are taking no chances on a repeat performance. Besides slicking up old man Logan,

they have put the police force through sensitivity training. This includes a screening of a documentary about that hot August week 28 years ago when Chicago cops turned tear-gas and night sticks against the young soldiers of the peace movement protesting against Democratic Party support for the Vietnam war.

The cops broke so many heads that the blood gushed in the gutters. A federal report confirmed what a stunned America had seen with its own eyes: Chicago had witnessed a "police riot".

The ghosts of those days were summoned again yesterday, when the surviving members of the Chicago Seven — the activists charged, convicted and eventually acquitted of conspiracy to incite violence — met for a "healing concert".

Father, greyer and slower, Crosby, Stills and Nash strummed away, as did Jackson Browne, but the day belonged to the old street-fighters. And, yes, they looked old. Tom Hayden, the raven-haired firebrand who urged the mob to storm the convention headquarters at the Hilton hotel, has returned to Chicago in a suit and tie, as a California state senator. He is staying at the Hilton.

John Froines is back, too — now a university professor in



Workers hoist balloons at the Democratic Party convention in preparation for today's opening PHOTOGRAPHER: MARK DUNCAN

spectacles and a cardigan. Missing are two of the seven's most magnificent members: the yippie leader Abbie Hoffman — who threatened to send Chicagoans tripping by dropping LSD into the water supply — and Jerry Rubin, the fast-talker who declared war against the "old, menopausal men who run this country".

Both Hoffman and Rubin are dead now. "They're kind of looking at all this from another reality," said a sparkling-eyed Rennie Davis, the only sevenite who looks younger now than he did then. It is proving to be a fun few days for the veterans of '68. On Saturday night, Mr Davis was surrounded by adoring young

hippies on a streetcorner — kids who weren't born when the Vietnam war was over. They would love there to be some trouble in Chicago this week, just as they longed for mud and drugs at the second Woodstock festival in 1994: the sixties seem so cool, they yearn for just a piece of it.

There are some echoes for

the nostalgia freak. Chicago is ruled once more by a Mayor Richard Daley, son of the party boss who shouted expletives at the convention platform when his police were accused of Gestapo tactics. And Hoffman's activist son, Andrew is leading demonstrators at Grant Park, scene of the previous trouble.

Some police share the hunger for past glories. Only 7 per cent of the force that fought the battle of '68 is still working. But cops have proved eager customers for a T-shirt depicting a truncheon-wielding policeman above the slogan: "We kicked your father's ass in 1968... Wait till you see what we do to you."

It will probably prove a vain boast. The Chicago force is not what it was — white, male and bigoted. One in four of today's cops is black, one in five is female and 10 per cent are Hispanic. They have been told that every one of the 15,000 journalists in town wants a colour version of those old archive shots of beat-beatings and that they are not to comply.

But they have little to fear. The Chicago Seven pose no threats now that the counter-culture has become the culture. Rock and roll is used in television advertisements, and even Republicans admit they used to get high.

Those who have stuck to the old message have been rendered harmless. Mr Davis keeps his hair long, and explains his new invention for "drawing energy from the ambient environment". He says he loves the Chicago police because "they're far out".

David Dellinger, aged 61, is still a radical: "Things have

got worse, there are more rich people controlling the society now than in '68," he says, insisting you call him Dave.

Even so, the heat has gone. Veterans of '68 are on television, reminding Americans that the turmoil ran all year, climaxing in the assassinations of Martin Luther King and Bobby Kennedy. There were life-and-death issues at stake then — civil rights and Vietnam.

The battles today are not so obvious. The demonstrators herded into the official protest site — a fixture at all post-'68 conventions — tell the story of commerce, the Chicago Society for Space Studies and a group that wants the actor John Belushi commemorated on a postage stamp.

A few miles away, there is yet more evidence of how much has changed: Chicago's rollerblade along the lakefront, play touch football in Seneca Park and sip cappuccino along Michigan Avenue.

Mayor Daley danced on Friday night with Jesse Jackson at a fundraiser by Artha Franklin. America in 1996 may not be fully at peace with itself, but in 1968 it was at war. And there's a big difference.

**Aiming for gun law, page 6; Leader comment, page 2; Hacks at the back, G2 page 7**

### Review

#### Tepid souffle of love and psychoanalysis misfires badly

Jonathan Romney

*A Couch in New York* Edinburgh Film Festival

THE words "pala" and "Chantal Akerman" don't normally go together. In the 1970s, Akerman was the last word in rigorous feminist arts cinema, making the sort of film that hard-core critics applauded for their radical questioning of traditional notions of pleasure. So it seemed like a surreal gesture for the Drambuie Edinburgh Film Festival to close with her latest film — improbably, a light romantic comedy starring Juliette Binoche and William Hurt.

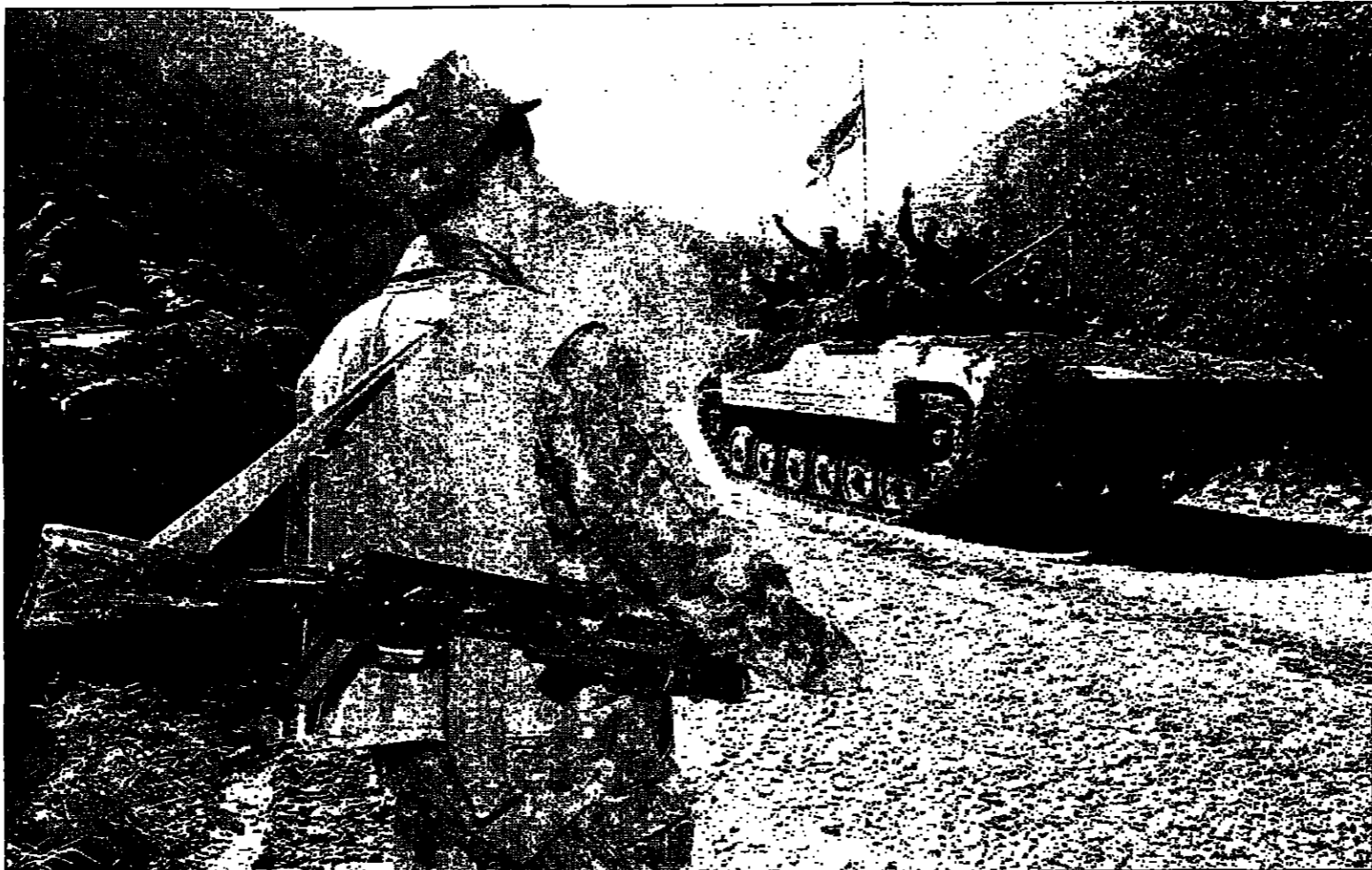
Even if *A Couch in New York* had worked, it would have made a downbeat ending, but as it is, it was a terrible choice. You can just about see what Akerman had in mind — which makes it the more painful to watch it misfire.

A tepid souffle of love, psychoanalysis and extravagant set design, *Couch* is what Akerman describes as a "double fish out of water film". Hurt is Henry, a moody, repressed New York shrink with an opulent Upper East Side apartment and a string of nagging patients. Binoche is Béatrice, a Parisian dancer with an army of flustered swains. They contrive to swap flats, which puts Henry among the chaos of Béatrice's life, and lands her — through a series of grinding misunderstandings — with his patients and his Labrador.

A lot depends on our buying the idea that Béatrice is a sparkling bundle of Parisian life who brightens the life of everyone she meets. From an American director, this would be had enough, but Akerman should know better. The minute Binoche hits town, and — in an accent Antoine de Caunes would wince at — starts asking: "Please, what means 'booze'?" it's clear Akerman is on the wrong tack. By the time Béatrice has set herself up as Manhattan's hippest shrink, the film has gone irreparably askew.

Akerman seems to have in mind the sort of brittle, urbane comedy that might once have starred Grant and Hepburn (Katherine) in the 1940s, or even Astaire and Hepburn (Audrey) in the 1950s. She's ended up with a flat yet opulent variant on Green Card, with Binoche awkwardly filling the Gérard Depardieu part, and dialogue that seems hurriedly translated.

The cringe-making *coup de grâce* comes as Binoche's taxi is pursued by Hurt's Labrador, and she sighs, "I'm getting tired of this dog." She knows whereof she speaks.



A Russian soldier watches a friendly armoured personnel carrier pass a checkpoint in Shantol, 25 miles from Grozny PHOTOGRAPHER: GLEB GARFANICH

## Chechen peace deal on hold

### Lebed returns empty-handed as 'renegade' rebels breach truce

James Meek in Moscow

THE Chechen peace process slowed down sharply yesterday when the Kremlin's envoy to Chechnya, Alexander Lebed, failed to sign a deal with separatist leaders and returned to Moscow.

Fingers stayed on triggers in the adjacent armed camps of Russians and rebels, while plans for joint patrols of Grozny were put on hold as doubts resurfaced over whether Gen Lebed or his rebel counterpart, Aslan

Maskhadov, could control their forces.

The Russian commander Vyacheslav Tikhomirov suspended co-operation with the separatists after a group of rebels disarmed a column of interior ministry troops moving through Grozny on Saturday. The rebels seized more than 70 weapons.

Movladi Udugov, a rebel spokesman, apologised for the incident and said the weapons would be returned. The guilty group was a renegade unit, he said.

Russian commanders in Chechnya said the seizure

was the reason for Gen Lebed's departure for Moscow. But the general said he needed to return for legal consultations about peace treaty documents, and that the process itself was not at risk.

The contradiction is another sign of the Russians' weak chain of command and lack of accountability at the top which, combined with the rebel leaders' inability to control rogue bands, has destroyed past ceasefires.

Gen Lebed signed a preliminary ceasefire with Gen Maskhadov on Thursday night and had hoped to sign a longer-term agreement yesterday. But he said new proposals on Chechnya's future status put forward by the rebels on Saturday needed

first to be approved by President Boris Yeltsin and Victor Chernomyrdin, the prime minister.

Different Russian commanders in Chechnya yesterday accused the rebels of a multitude of ceasefire violations. One officer said rebel snipers were still at work — a Russian serviceman was shot dead in Grozny on Saturday afternoon. Despite tension in Grozny, however, a large Russian armoured column did pull out of the city's southern district of Shantol.

Gen Lebed called the weapons seizure "a misunderstanding". Before leaving for Moscow, he appealed to the Chechen people to show good sense and restraint. "Popular wisdom says it only takes one

fool to begin a war, while dozens of wise men cannot stop one," he said.

The peace plan remains unclear, but it envisages two Russian brigades staying on in Chechnya. There would be new elections, and a referendum on the territory's status. Although Mr Yeltsin insists it remains nominally part of Russia, and in the past the rebels have demanded full independence, some form of words will probably be found to satisfy both sides.

One Moscow source said the issue of Chechnya's status might be postponed for five years, to allow the territory to recover from the war.

*The war they can't win, page 9; Profile, G2, page 12*

## Howard attacked on sentencing

continued from page 1

mandated to know the cost implications.

"Everyone knew the advice the lawyers gave, everyone knew the consequences, but assumed it would take a little while for anything to happen. They assumed one or two people might be let out and provide Michael Howard with the perfect reason to trump it at the party conference. But it blew up in his face."

The shadow home secretary, Jack Straw, last night warned Mr Howard not to make Richard Tilt, the Prison Service director, a scapegoat over the crisis.

Prisoners who had been awaiting early release until Mr Howard suspended the programme late on Friday were left in limbo as Mr Tilt cut short his holiday last night. He plans to be at work this morning, to sort out the confusion caused last week by the decision to release hundreds of prisoners serving consecutive sentences who had already spent time on remand.

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last week they were entitled to early release are waiting for the issue to be tested in the courts. Mr Howard expects that the lawyers acting on behalf of aggrieved prisoners will challenge his ruling.

A definitive decision will be made in the High Court this week. The Prison Service made it clear it backs the Home Secretary's tactics.

Mr Straw focused on the 48-hour gap between Mr Tilt's pre-holiday memo warning of prisoners being released and Mr Howard's decision to suspend the programme. "I'm not sure anybody is to blame," Prisoners who were told

released early from Wandsworth Prison, London, at about 4.30pm. Haverigg Prison in Cumbria releases 33 prisoners this evening. Labour's prisons spokesman George Howarth hears rumours of releases.

Thursday 22: Mr Howarth asks for and gets full briefing on releases from Prison Service. Mr Howard spends morning briefing journalists on identity card and luncheon being interviewed on radio and TV. Spends afternoon attacking Tony Blair and Harriet Harman over good GCSE results for their children's schools. First hears of prison releases late at night from Channel 4 journalist.

Friday 23: Guardian breaks story of prison releases. With 86 out of possible 4,000 so far out of jail, Mr Howard seeks opinion from QC David Pannick. He disagrees with Prison Service legal judgment. At 7.30pm Mr Howard speaks to Mr Tilt by telephone in Italy. On BBC Newsnight he announces he is suspending releases and implicitly blames Tilt: "I think I should have been consulted. I think it is extraordinary."

Saturday 24: Ann Widdecombe returns from walking holiday in Wales. Mr Tilt decides to return from holiday in Italy.

## How a rethink on jail terms led to another prison embarrassment

THE BUILD-UP

July 1995: Prison director Derek Lewis discovers on terms of prisoners that governor is interpreting sentencing law differently. Tells ministers.

October 1995: Working party starts examining sentence calculation.

February 1996: Clarification project team set up to redraft sentencing manual.

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THE LAST TEN DAYS

Thursday 16: Prison Service director general Richard Tilt signs instruction to Governors Number 50/95 ordering recalculations.

Friday 16: First news reaches prisoners at Haverigg, Cumbria, who are going home early.

Monday 17: Howard returns from holiday in US to be duty cabinet minister. Prison Service submits report on new guidelines to Home Office.

Wednesday 21: Richard Tilt sends memo to private offices of Howard and prisons minister Ann Widdecombe before leaving for holiday in Italy. It warns that "some prisoners would be released as a result of a recalculation of their sentences" and this might "attract some attention".

In afternoon Howard is briefing journalists on CS spray when first prisoner

released early from Wandsworth Prison, London, at about 4.30pm. Haverigg Prison in Cumbria releases 33 prisoners this evening. Labour's prisons spokesman George Howarth hears rumours of releases.

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## Parliament 'was misled' over closure of 24-hour benefits helpline

Martin Linton

THE Government was accused yesterday of misleading MPs and the public over the future of a 24-hour benefits helpline used by 48,000 desperate people every year.

A leaked letter from the Benefits Agency shows that a decision to close it was taken on March 12 although MPs

were still being told it was "currently being examined" 10 weeks later.

The letter from Benefits Agency chief executive, Peter Mathison, dated March 14 1996, gives staff a list of services that will not be funded after October 1.

It includes the 24-hour telephone service run by the agency for people who are destitute and in urgent need, and the London Emergency

Office, at the Elephant and Castle, south London, which is open round the clock.

News of the closure appears to have been withheld from MPs who asked questions in the Commons about the future of the emergency service at the end of April and again on May 21.

This could raise a tricky issue of ministerial accountability as ministers no longer answer questions about bene-

fits themselves, but pass on an answer from the head of the Benefits Agency.

The Liberal Democrat MP, Simon Hughes, who gave the letter to the BBC's World This Weekend, accused Mr Mathison of misleading Parliament and said either he, or the Social Security Secretary, Peter Lilley, or the benefits minister, Roger Evans, should resign.

The helpline closure is in-

tended to save £28 million as part of a £400 million cut that Mr Lilley has demanded in the £2.2 billion cost of administering social security benefits over the next five years.

Mr Mathison said people would still be able to phone their local benefits office with queries, although welfare rights workers claim it is almost impossible to get answers from a benefit office by phone.

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'We urge people not to watch this video. Doctors and patients are going to have to look at the contracts signed with the company to see how it can be stopped. It is deeply distasteful and very worrying. This is the first time we have heard of such a video'

# Pressure builds for 'frightening' surgery video to be banned

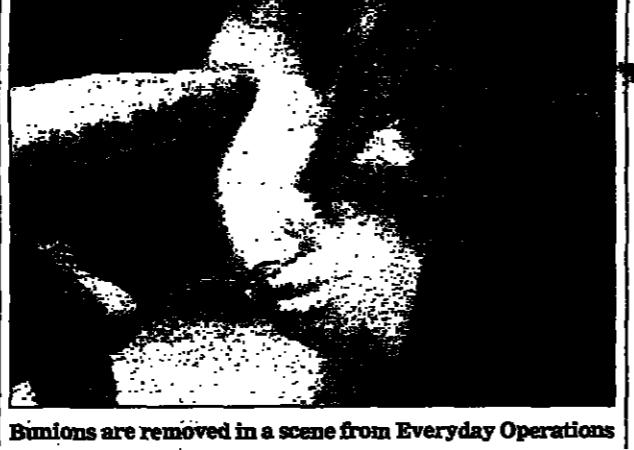
### BMA fears seriously ill patients will be scared off life-saving treatment by harrowing footage

Stuart Miller

DOCTORS and patients' groups yesterday condemned the makers of a video featuring live NHS surgery as pressure grew for the film to be banned. The Video Standards Council said it would advise its members not to stock the 50-minute video, *Everyday Operations*, which is due for release today. The film features excerpts from surgeons' training videos, including intimate gynaecological surgery, open heart operations, and penile and breast implants. The makers, IMC, claimed it was informative and educational, providing viewers with a unique insight into the NHS. But the British Medical Association said it feared the film could frighten potential patients from seeking life-saving surgery. Vivian Nathanson, head of the BMA's ethics committee, said: "We urge people not to watch this video and doctors and patients are going to have to look at the contracts signed with the company to see how it can be stopped. It is deeply distasteful and very worrying. This is the first time we have heard of such a video."

treating the concern of patients' groups as a complaint. While it does not have the power to enforce a ban, the council could influence the stocking policies of shops. He told BBC Radio 4's *The World This Week* that discussions with retailers had so far shown many reluctant to sell the film. Gerry Malone, the Health Minister, promised an investigation into claims that NHS patients had unwittingly been involved. "If these are NHS patients who have not given their consent, I would like to see the supporting evidence so that my officials can look into the matter promptly," he said. Labour called the film "disgraceful" and said it breached the privacy of patients. Nigel Griffiths, the party's consumer affairs spokesman, said: "People gave their permission for their operations to be filmed for medical training purposes. It is inconceivable that they would have given permission for them to be put out for profit by a profit-making operation." IMC insisted that all filming was legal and had been made with prior agreement from patients, none of whom were identifiable. David Donoghue, the company's media adviser, said: "There is absolutely no excuse at all for self-appointed watchdogs to go around saying the public should not be allowed to see something for which they are paying. It is absolutely a documentary about what goes on in the operating theatre. It is serious education and information. All the documentation was cleared by the Government's own watchdog, the British Board of Film Classification." The cover of *Everyday Operations* carries the warning: "This video contains scenes you may find disturbing" before boasting "over 20 brilliantly performed operations are vividly revealed." After a short opening sequence featuring actors recreating amputations carried out centuries ago without anaesthetic, the film moves on to an operation on the brain. Surgeons begin by removing a round section of the cranium of a patient suffering from epilepsy before examining the tissues below. Diagrams accompany many of the operations such as treatments for incontinence and gall bladder removal. In-depth footage of intimate gynaecological procedures is shown as well as a vasectomy and a penile implant.

Guy Howland, of the Patients' Association, accused the company of exploiting the sick. "It is outrageous. A number of patients have come into hospital, they have consented to have an operation undertaken upon them. As part of that they may also have agreed it could be used in the training of surgeons," he said. "What they have not agreed to... is that this material be used for a home video." Meanwhile, the Video Standards Council said it was



Bunions are removed in a scene from *Everyday Operations*



The BMA wants to keep the drama out of theatre such as this, where the only casts are plaster

# Church raid gives boost to Chirac

Alex Duval Smith in Paris



AS THE first of 300 immigrants evicted from a church sit-in were flown to West Africa aboard a military plane yesterday, President Jacques Chirac and his prime minister reaped an instant reward for moving against foreign migrants, with an opinion poll showing a clear boost to their popularity. Amid claims from leftwing politicians that Mr Chirac had pandered to racist voters by ordering Friday's violent raid on the St Bernard's church sit-in, an opinion poll showed his popularity rating had increased by 3 per cent. A military flight on Saturday took 57 immigrants — reportedly including four from the Vincennes detention centre east of Paris yesterday after police decided not to seek an extension of their custody. A further three were released from hospital, and a 10th was quietly freed on Saturday night, police said. Earlier, about 40 Africans were freed after a civil court ruled that police had made errors in custody orders, including unauthorised signatures on documents. The court agreed to extend detention for only 13 others. A separate court sentenced three people to jail terms of up to three months, with a further four people receiving suspended prison terms. As demonstrations continued across France, with a call for a further march in Paris tonight, the interior ministry announced that only 40 of the Africans (including one hunger striker) had been granted permission to stay. The others still face the threat of expulsion, and all have orders to report regularly to police. The occupation, which lasted almost two months, became the focus of national concern about immigration, race and unemployment. The 38 per cent "satisfaction" rating scored by Mr Chirac in yesterday's *Journal du D-*

manche poll was directly linked to his hardline action. Among supporters of the anti-immigrant National Front, his satisfaction rating was up by 28 per cent on last month. Among supporters of mainstream rightwing parties — the Union for French Democracy (UDF) and his own Rally for the Republic (RPR) — the increase was 10 per cent. After an informal meeting with his prime minister, Alain Juppé, at the presidential summer retreat of Brégonçon in the south, Mr Chirac held firm to government policy on immigration, saying he wanted to send a "strong signal" to discourage potential immigrants. The French people, he said, regardless of their politics, felt a "growing irritation over immigration". The meeting came amid government fears of a troubled autumn session. While Mr Chirac's score is at its highest since March, and Mr Juppé increased his own satisfaction rating by one percentage point — to 31 per cent — both know benefits reaped from the raid could be shortlived. With unemployment at 12.5 per cent and more job cuts planned, the government fears a repeat of the strike action that paralysed the country last December. Income tax cuts are promised in the 1997 budget, but so are appeals for belt-tightening in the lead-up to the single currency. Unpopular measures to reduce the deficit of the social security budget — which prompted last December's strikes — have saved only one-fifth of the target Fr60 billion (£9 billion).

## Real life viewing for the video voyeurs

Executions (cert 18) Released: June 1995 Features lingering close-ups of 21 violent deaths including a woman being stoned to death in Mogadishu and close-up of men writhing in agony after a firing squad in the Lebanon. The video was banned by retailers after two weeks. Barrie Goulding of ICM said: "This film should shock because the truth hurts." But MP Roy Hattersley retorted: "Executions is not the indictment of capital punishment which its producers claim. It is a 55-minute peep show of violent death." Caught in the Act (cert 18) Released: September 1996, re-released March 1996. Features grainy footage taken from close circuit TV cameras including couple having sex in a lift and shotgun-wielding chaos in a bank. It sold 6,500 copies in first two days before being banned for six months following copy-

right wrangles. It has since sold hundreds of thousands of copies. Mr Goulding said: "We wanted a whole debate on the surveillance society." But the Guardian's review commented: "It would be laughable were it not so boring." Soccer's Hard Men. Released: October 95. Features dirty tricks from behind the referee's back, presented by self-styled hardman Vinny Jones. Makers Video Vision Ltd said this was how hard men earned their "legendary reputations". But Jones exclaimed: "Now I have seen it and seen how it has come out I am totally ashamed of myself."

able true horror from some of the most infamous sexual psychopaths." But MP Nigel Evans said: "Films are coming in under the guise of education, but they are going through sensational subjects to make a fast buck." The Serial Killers (educational: no certificate) Released: August 1995. Features graphic first-hand accounts of serial murders. Includes interviews with Harvey "the Hammer" Carigan and Arthur "Monster of the Rivers" Shawcross. It was withdrawn after a classification row. Makers Video Gems said: "Unbeliev-

# Tabloid claims royals staged snoop

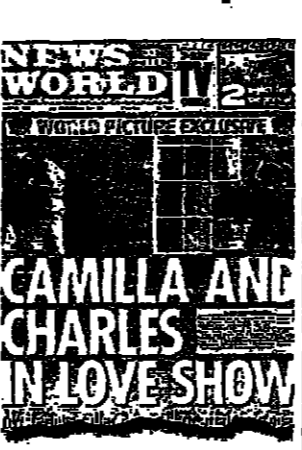
### Front-page picture of couple raises speculation about tip-off by Palace

Owen Bowcott

THE royal family's campaign against press intrusion was in danger of being undermined yesterday when a tabloid newspaper pictured Prince Charles with Camilla Parker Bowles outside a converted Welsh rectory, which they allegedly share at weekends. Far more damaging than the photographs — which simply showed the couple with friends — was the suggestion by the *News of the World*, which published the photograph on its front page, that the tip-off came from within the royal circle. It claimed a "well-spoken woman" had telephoned to say Prince Charles and Mrs Parker Bowles would be staying at Glyn Celyn House, Powys. Later a contact reportedly rang back to say: "You'll have no trouble if you publish the pictures." The remote Georgian house is owned by Nic Paravicini, a millionaire banker and Mrs Parker Bowles' former brother-in-law. His second wife, Sadio, is said to be a confidante of Mrs Parker Bowles.



Glyn Celyn House, near Brecon, and the front page of yesterday's *News of the World*



The tabloid's story comes just three days before the Prince and Princess's divorce is formally sealed by a decree absolute on Wednesday. There has been speculation that Prince Charles, aged 47, and his 48-year-old divorcee, Encouraging the press to photograph them together in a relaxed, rural setting, the *News of the World* claimed, was intended to break the taboo of Mrs Parker Bowles and the Prince being seen as a couple. The heir to the throne is said increasingly to resent the subterfuge required for them to meet. However, Buckingham Palace yesterday said it may take action against the newspaper and its photog-

rapher. "We deplore any intrusion into the private lives of the Royal Family, as this was," a spokeswoman said. "We will consider what action to take in the coming days. We have not ruled out any option." "We categorically deny that this was a photo-opportunity conceived by the Palace." But the spokeswoman added: "I cannot speak for friends of the Prince." If the pictures were arranged by the Prince's supporters, it would represent a severe setback to Buckingham Palace's recent attempt to rein in what it views as the excesses of press photographers. Ten days ago Princess Diana obtained an injunction against Martin Stenning, a freelance, banning him from approaching her, and last week four more photographers were told to stay away from the Balmoral estate. If the latest pictures prove to be pre-arranged, they will again dent the royal family's attempt to attract public sympathy in its battle for privacy. A survey of senior Church of England figures, revealed in yesterday's *Sunday Express*, indicates widespread disquiet about the Prince's conduct. Of 100 members of the Church's ruling General Synod, 87 did not think the royal family was upholding Church teachings. Many were "deeply disappointed that [Charles] seemed remorseless in breaching the seventh commandment: Thou shall not commit adultery".

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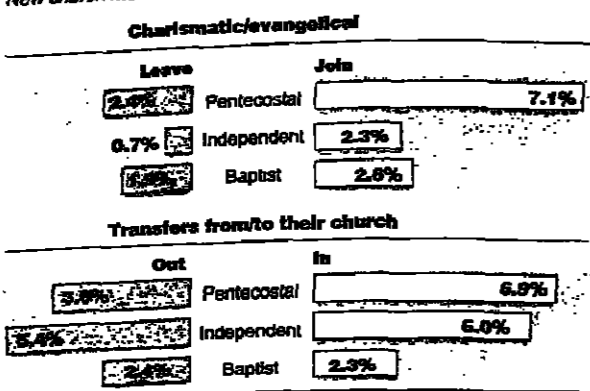
**Lebed found an airfield, bribed an instructor four bottles of vodka to take him up, and on his first parachute jump, he fractured his spine. It did not put him off.**  
James Meek on Alexander Lebed

**Profile G2 page 12**

# 4 BRITAIN

## Worshippers and wanderers

New church members and people departing, %



## 'Revolving door' throws doubt on evangelical churches' revival

Madeleine Bunting on membership drain

THE evangelical revival which has transformed the Christian church may have peaked, according to figures to be published this autumn.

The charismatic/evangelical churches which have boomed over the past quarter century, such as the Pentecostals, Baptists and the house church movement, are all suffering from the "revolving door" syndrome — the highest growth rates of any churches, but also the highest rates of drop-outs and transfers to other churches. Almost a third of new members drop out.

According to the latest edition of *Bodybook*, which covers 13 of the biggest house church networks, adult membership of the movement has dropped by 6



Festival-goers among the 20,000-plus at the Greenbelt, where new ways were in evidence

per cent. It is the first drop after a period in which the movement mushroomed from nothing to more than 200,000 members. In 1989 there were 402 house churches; since reaching 743 last year, the number has remained static.

*Bodybook's* author, Peter Brierley, of Christian Research, notes: "Consolidation time for the charismatic fellowships... seems to have arrived."

Gerald Coates, leader of the Pioneer house church movement which publishes the *Bodybook*, insists this is a temporary blip. "You can't experience ongoing colossal growth. But in a few years there will be another leap."

These statistics will intensify a debate among evangelicals as to whether the revival of born-again Christianity is falling off and, like previous revivals, will be dissipated in internal battles.

Bitter controversy has focused on a "post-evangelical" trend of disillusioned evangelicals, for which the high drop-out and transfer rates appear to provide evidence. The phrase was coined by those critical of a perceived rigidity in questions of personal morality, lack of honest questioning and shallowness of the evangelical sub-culture. The concept attracts younger people, who are interested in exploring the mysticism and symbolism of other Christian traditions such as Celtic, Catho-

## News in brief

### Lloyd's plan 'agreed by 75pc of names'

THREE quarters of the membership of Lloyd's of London insurance market have accepted the terms of the £3.2 billion rescue package, it was disclosed yesterday. Lloyd's chairman, David Rowland, said he was confident the "overwhelming majority" of the 34,000 names would accept the restructuring plan by the deadline of noon on Wednesday.

Lloyd's made clear that the deadline still applied, despite an injunction blocking the plan granted to US-based Lloyd's names by a court in Richmond, Virginia, late on Friday. A Lloyd's spokesman said the court had decided on an expedited appeal — on Tuesday — and pointed to previous decisions against the market which had been overturned on appeal.

The plan involves transferring billions of pounds of liabilities to a new company, Equitas. Names will help pay for Equitas but are offered £3.2 billion to offset this cost and end litigation.

### Hospital police station

BRITAIN'S biggest accident and emergency department, at Edinburgh Royal Infirmary, is to have its own police station, in an attempt to prevent attacks on staff by patients or their friends and relatives. It will open in a fortnight and will be manned particularly on Thursday, Friday and Saturday nights, when violence is at its worst.

The department's clinical director, Keith Little, said the level of assaults and threats on staff, had become unacceptable and was affecting morale. On average there were two incidents a day requiring the police to remove someone. Nursing staff were most at risk, but he had faced a knife, had a golf ball thrown at him and had been hit and verbally threatened. A policeman had been slashed in the face, and a porter's wrist was broken when he went to the aid of a nurse.

Dr Little said most incidents were caused by people who had been drinking. Young men were the worst offenders, but women were becoming increasingly abusive. The hospital is meeting the £10,000 cost of setting up the office.

### 'More foreigners' in jails

ONE prisoner in 12 is a foreign national, according to a report today by the Prison Reform Trust. The number of foreigners in jails in England and Wales had reached 4,200 by the end of April — 6 per cent of the prison population. Since late 1994 the number had risen by 21 per cent, making it the fastest growing group.

Many faced language and cultural barriers and received no visitors, the report said. It called for new ways of dealing with foreign inmates. Among the women, more than half were in jail for drug offences. Many were "runners" who imported drugs from countries including Nigeria, Colombia and Jamaica. At the end of May 761 asylum-seekers and 475 immigration detainees were held in jail or detention centres. — Duncan Campbell

### Baby found dead on beach

A BABY found buried under the sand by children on a beach at Crickton Dean, Co Durham, may have died from neglect, police said yesterday. The girl, no more than three days old, had not been fed, nor had she received medical attention. Det Supt David Grey appealed for the mother to come forward as she might need urgent hospital treatment.

A girl aged 13 and her brother, 12, raised the alarm on Saturday after spotting the baby's face in the sand. A post-mortem was inconclusive, but Det Supt Grey said the girl had been seen at full arms and had no injuries. He was treating the death as suspicious, but could not rule out a still-birth.

### Football manager on bail

LINCOLN City manager John Beck, arrested minutes before the his side's third division game against Leyton Orient on Saturday, has been released on bail. He was held by Customs and Excise officials after warning up with his players at Stencil Bank. It is understood he was questioned about an alleged tax fraud involving whisky. Six people arrested in connection with the inquiry were bailed until October 1, a Customs spokeswoman said.

### Seven share lottery jackpot

SEVEN ticket holders shared the National Lottery jackpot of £7,855,700 on Saturday, getting £1,093,100 each. The winning numbers were 8, 11, 14, 18, 33, 44, and bonus 34.

# Water 'scam' worries MP

Regulator urged to look at insurance against leaks

Michael White Political Editor

THE water regulator should investigate highly-profitable insurance schemes whereby some water companies persuade customers to spend up to £72 a year protecting their pipes against leaks for which they may already be insured, a Labour MP said yesterday.

Helen Jackson, MP for Sheffield Hillsborough and a long-standing campaigner against privatised water utility excesses, was speaking as fresh evidence emerged the poor are still suffering the health risks arising from disconnections because of unpaid bills.

The MP's concern focuses



Helen Jackson: inquiry call

on the average £45 a year which some companies charge to cover burst pipes occurring between the domestic stopcock and the boundary of the property where it joins the mains.

Part of the "unregulated" area of the industry, privatised in 1989-90, it allows insurance companies to underwrite schemes — or "water profit scam," according to Ms Jackson — run by several

water companies, including Anglia, Bournemouth, South Staffs and Folkestone. "Why has the regulator allowed the operation to be outside the regulated core business, allowing companies to put this element of income straight into its unregulated 'fat cat' profits?" asked the MP, who discovered many household insurance schemes already cover frost-caused bursts. Ms Jackson's plea comes with a demand that all water companies offer free leakage detection services to stop leaks which result in supply losses estimated at up to 25 per cent.

OWFAT says such a service must be offered when meters are installed. Ironically, it emerged yesterday up to 15,000 such meters are going to families with bad payment records, as pay-as-you-use meters which result in "self-disconnection" by those unable to afford water. According to the Observer, the fall in disconnections from 10,047 in 1994-95 to 5,826 in 1995-96, masks a rise in self-disconnections.

Underground reserves hit record low in South and East

Paul Brown Environment Correspondent

DRUGHT is still forcing water companies into measures to conserve supplies and to seek drought orders, despite rain over the bank holiday.

The focus has moved from hard-hit Yorkshire Water to the south and east where aquifers, underground supplies, are depleted. Two aquifers in the Anglian region and one in Southern Water's area are at record low levels.

The problem has been caused by lower than average rainfall from March 1995. Since then 15 of the 18 months have had below average rainfall.

More than 40 drought

orders remain in place, mostly in the north-west. Large parts of the country face less draconian measures, mostly hosepipe and sprinkler bans, or bans on what are called non-essential uses like washing cars.

East Sussex, west Kent, Folkestone and Dover have had a such-a ban for many months.

Reservoirs, which in Yorkshire Water's area virtually dried out this time last year, causing a spectacular emergency, are still far lower than average. The prolonged dry spell is now affecting aquifers to a critical extent. Water companies normally rely on winter rains to top them up but they were not replenished sufficiently.

Forty-one aquifers from which drinking water is drawn are reported below average depth by the Environment Agency and three are at the lowest ever recorded level. The Brighton and Worthing area is particularly badly hit and a sprinkler ban was imposed in May to con-

serve supplies. Southern Water is making plans to pipe water in from another area to augment the supplies for the autumn.

In north-west Sussex the River Rother is low and the company is applying for a new drought order to take extra water. The problem is that the aquifer from which the river naturally maintains its summer flows is seriously depleted. Anglian Region has similar problems with water levels in Lincolnshire chalk.

# Heart patients 'need better terminal care'

Jane Alfred

MANY people suffering from heart disease face unnecessary pain in their last years of life because lessons learned in the treatment of cancer sufferers are not being applied to other types of terminal illness, doctors say today.

Dramatic improvements in the care of the terminally ill have been made in the past decade, but ways of easing the suffering of heart patients have remained largely unexplored, according to a study in the *Journal of the Royal College of Physicians*

"Although heart disease is the major cause of death in the UK, research into, and specialist services for, care of patients with heart disease is negligible. Recently, there have been calls for more attention to be paid to dying from causes other than cancer, and specifically from cardiac causes," say the researchers from University College London.

Mark McCarthy, Margaret Lay and Julia Addington-Hall questioned families and carers of more than 600 patients 10 months after friends or relatives had died from heart disease.

The researchers were told

that, in the last year of life, heart disease sufferers frequently experienced painful symptoms which hospital care was unable to relieve. The researchers said: "It is of concern that hospital management of pain, dyspnoea (breathlessness), nausea or vomiting, and constipation was reported to have brought little or no relief to between a quarter and a third of patients suffering these symptoms. Efforts to remove the cause of distressing symptoms are likely to be worthwhile in improving quality of life."

Despite these findings, relatives of 81 per cent of the patients rated the care given to them in hospital as good or excellent. Only 6 per cent thought hospital care was poor. However, 29 per cent of carers felt that the deceased patient had not been given as much choice in their treatment as they had wanted.

Dr McCarthy and his colleagues say: "Patients with heart disease are in some ways similar to patients with cancer: both face an uncertain future and cure of the underlying pathology is often not possible. It is time for the concerns of palliative care (the treatment of symptoms when a cure is not possible) to be extended from cancer pa-

tients to the broad range of patients dying in hospital, at home and in nursing and residential homes."

In their survey of 675 deceased patients, relatives and carers said that 78 per cent of them were regularly in pain before they died. In 87 per cent of younger patients, aged 15-55, the pain was severe enough to be "very distressing". For older patients this distressing level of pain was experienced by 83 per cent.

The second most distressing symptom for patients in their final months of life was breathlessness. Many also suffered from depression, sleeplessness and anxiety.

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**Mas bands in Notting Hill**

Sunday was children's day at the carnival and Sam Wollaston's ears are still ringing

A BRIEF cloudburst dampened costumes but had little impact on spirits at yesterday's Notting Hill Carnival, the biggest street festival in the northern hemisphere.

It was children's day, so the crowd was less than it will be for today's adult event. But the music was just as loud, and as much fun was had. And the faces peering out from the mas (short for masquerade) costumes were a little smaller and younger.

There was the usual medley of shimmering colour, feathers and gravity-defying balance: warriors and dancers, sailors, exotic sea creatures, birds, and insects whose wings uncrumpled when the sun came out after the rain.

Soca, calypso and steel drums provided the soundtrack.

This year, commercialism seemed to have crept in, with a very obvious Lilt presence.

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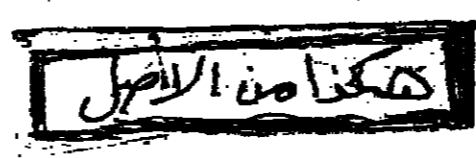
Full, indivisible contract of a service for the design, start up and support of a System of Migration Control and Identification of Individuals and of electoral information.

Interested parties may ask for information and purchase bid specifications of Subsecretaría de Población (Under Secretariat of Population) of the Ministry of Interior, at Avenida Leandro N. Alem 168 - 5º Piso - Capital Federal, from Monday to Friday from 12:00 noon to 4:00 AM as of the 30th day of August of the year 1996.

Value of the Bid Specifications: eighty thousand pesos (\$80,000).

Bids shall be received at the Subsecretaría de Población of the Ministry of the Interior, located at Avenida Leandro N. Alem 168 - 5º Piso - Capital Federal, until 12:00 noon of the 25th day of October of the year 1996.

The opening of bids shall be carried out the same day at 1:00 PM at the Subsecretaría de Población of the Ministry of the Interior



صحنه من الراحل

Guardian writers examine the facts and figures which challenge Charles Hendry's rosy view of prospects for teenagers in the 1990s

# Young 'have never had it so good'



Charles Hendry: 'never a better time to be young'

## Anger at Macmillan-style claim by Conservative vice-chairman

John Carroll  
Education Editor

**A**S 16-YEAR-OLDS opened the brown envelopes to disclose their GCSE results last week, the vice-chairman of the Conservative Party made an astonishing claim. "There has never been a better time to be a young person than in the Britain of 1996," said Charles Hendry, MP for High Peak and the senior Central Office figure on duty at the time.

Not since Harold Macmillan won the 1969 general election, on the slogan that Britain had never had it so good, has such an apparently complacent message been brought into political service. What truth is there in the proposition that young people are thriving as never before? Leaving aside today's alarming evidence from John Marks, the rightwing educationist, that the average 11-year-old is nearly two years behind the expected standard in arithmetic, there is some support for Mr Hendry's belief that young people are

achieving better exam success. According to the National Consortium for Examination Results, 21.3 per cent of 16-year-olds in state schools achieved good passes in at least five subjects in the last year of O levels in 1995. In the following year, 25.4 per cent passed GCSEs in at least five subjects at grades A to C, which were supposed to be equivalent to an O level. By 1995 the proportion had risen to 38.7 per cent, and when this year's data is available it may be close to 40 per cent. Similar improvements have been chalked up at A level and the proportion of school leavers going on to university has risen substantially. Although critics suggest these

improvements have been achieved at the expense of devaluing exam standards, Mr Hendry may be right to argue that educational prospects for young people in the top half of the ability range are better than ever before. John Dunford, headmaster of Durham Johnston comprehensive and president of the Secondary Heads Association, thinks the improvement extends far beyond examination success. "There is no question that there has never been a better time to be at school. The comprehensive system has delivered the goods for young people without being given the credit," he said. "We are producing far more opportunities for them. Take

the way in which we teach modern languages. Young people coming out of school now with that background are looking at the whole of Europe as their potential job market. They may find it very difficult to get on the first rung of the ladder, but once they have their opportunities are tremendous whether it is in Brussels, Birmingham or Bordeaux." David Hart, general secretary of the National Association of Head Teachers, thought conditions for young people were more mixed. "Mr Hendry is right for the majority, but he is wrong for a significant minority. "If you have good enough grades to lead on to higher achievement at 18 in A levels

or vocational qualifications, that's great. But a significant minority are leaving school with no qualifications at all, or qualifications which will be rejected by employers as largely meaningless. For them life is going to be tough." David Blunkett, the shadow education secretary, said Mr Hendry's boast displayed breathtaking ignorance. "The country has 650,000 young people under 25 who are out of work, out of education and out of training. A staggering 250,000 of them have been in that position for more than six months. "It is the disparity between success and failure that worries me the most. It starts in school where we do not do

enough to help the under-achievers make use of what talents they possess." Douglas Trainer, president of the National Union of Students, said Mr Hendry's claim would also sound preposterous to those in higher education. "Between a fifth and a sixth of students are dropping out. Harshship is the number one issue. And now we are looking at the possible imposition of tuition fees. "It is ridiculous to suggest that young people have never had it so good. They are studying harder than ever before because they realise their opportunities are so limited. A qualification is no longer the passport to a job as it used to be when Tory ministers were at Oxford."

## Grim prospect for school leavers

Jobs  
Stuart Miller

**T**WEENAGE school-leavers who do not continue their education face an uncertain and insecure future, according to the Trades Union Congress. In a report published last week it warned that young workers are exploited by employers and feel ignored by politicians and unions. The result is a generation sceptical of politicians and fearful for the future. The labour market for young people in the 1990s — dubbed the "lost generation" by unions — has been characterised by falling relative pay, a dwindling number of full-time permanent jobs and high unemployment.

Although nationally there has been a fall in youth unemployment, the TUC claims this has more to do with demographic change than job creation. There are fewer young people today and more of them remain in education. More than 188,000 people under 20 were registered as unemployed in March 1996. Almost 125,000 had been out of work for a year or more. For young black people, the situation is bleak. One in three black school leavers faces life on the dole — twice the rate for their white classmates. In some parts of the country, youth unemployment

has increased against the national trend. Worst hit is London, with a 16 per cent increase in under-20s registered as unemployed since 1991. Nationally, youth unemployment has risen in 215 of the 635 parliamentary constituencies outside Northern Ireland. For those who do find work, the chances of being among the lowest paid are disproportionately high, concentrated as they are in low-wage sectors. For male full-time employees, the lowest-paid 10 per cent earn £2.80 an hour or less, while lowest-paid females earn £2.64 or less, according to TUC figures. The Labour Force Survey of autumn 1995 found that 37 per cent of employees aged 16-19 worked in wholesale

and distribution — compared with 15 per cent of all employees — while 16 per cent were employed in the low-paying hotels and restaurants sector. The TUC believes this means more than half of workers under 20 are in industries "typified by low pay, limited training opportunities, high rates of staff turnover and little union protection". These concerns are reflected in last week's report, *Testament of Youth*, which revealed that 50 per cent of workers aged 16-25 complain of unfair treatment at work, with low pay and poor treatment by management most commonly cited. With more than one in three earning less than £100 a week almost 80 per cent supported calls for a national minimum wage.



Serious attitude... Daniela Cammack, who collected 10 GCSEs. She said the work ethic had been drummed into pupils but there were no guarantees of jobs PHOTOGRAPH: DON MCFEE

## A life of football, money, TV and fashion

Culture  
Lucy Manning

**"T**HE Beatles are better than Oasis" debate was not just about the merits of who wrote the better songs. It was seen as an attack on '90s youth culture by those people who teenagers thought had no right to criticise them — their parents. Drugs, body piercing, Adidas trainers, clubbing, television, divorce and schoolwork are familiar experiences to many. But computers and television dominate teenagers' lives. Ian McLeish, the editor of the teen favourite magazine *TV Hits*, says TV is one of the most important components of youth culture. "Television programmes are the main topic of conversation in school, you have to see it to have something to talk about." Parents are allowing their children more freedom. With many teenagers taking part-time jobs, money is contributing to this freedom. Fashion remains important, still wishing to be categorised: the clubbers with tight T-shirts, wearing luminous colours and shiny or plastic materials, the indie kids, ardent followers of Britpop in baggy trousers, tracksuit tops and trainers and the label louts wearing anything from Ted Baker to Armani to Diesel.

Over 90 per cent of 13-18-year-olds go to the cinema, an increase of nearly 15 per cent over the past decade. Club culture has also exploded and DJs are revered as much as pop stars. Foothall has restored its credibility with men and women, providing pin-ups such as Ryan Giggs and Jamie Redknapp. "But it is not just that females fancy the players," says Michael Hogan, assistant editor of girls' magazine *Just 17*. "When we did a football trivia quiz, our readers got 90 per cent of the questions right." This love of football is part of the change in women's role in society. A study from the think-tank Demos entitled *Freedom's Children* commented: "Women are becoming more masculine, attached to risk, hedonism and living on the edge." This trend is evident in youth culture, with females enjoying more independence than their mothers or grandmothers did.

## Charities' inquiry finds 'alarming' rise in young homeless

Housing  
James Meikle

**H**OMELESSNESS among young, vulnerable people is increasing at an alarming rate, according to the results of an inquiry to be published next month. Unemployed and short of money, thousands of 16 and 17-year-olds are sleeping on friends' floors, living in squalid beds and breakfast

hotels and squats, or sometimes on the streets. Even those entitled to benefits because they can prove they are estranged from their parents may receive as little as £28 a week, which inquiry members, headed by Andrea Whittam Smith, former editor of the *Independent*, say is far too little when temporary accommodation rents can reach £75 a week. The inquiry was commissioned by 19 charities and took evidence from 150 organisations and individuals. It does not put a national

figure on the extent of the problem but Centrepoint, citing information from nearly 1,300 people under 25 using its main shelters in London, said nearly four in 10 were 17 or younger. Most of these were girls and many had no income. The charity estimated that 40 per cent of young people on the streets ran away from home or care before they were 16. The report says many young homeless people have left home because of abuse or neglect. They find it difficult to break out of the "no home,

no job, no home" cycle. Employers are unwilling to offer work when they have no fixed address, but without income, they cannot afford accommodation. Although few under-18s are registered as sleeping on the streets in regular spots in London, many say they have done so before using hostels and shelters. The report warns that poverty and homelessness "can, and often does, lead to health problems, alcohol and drug misuse, petty crime and feelings of frustration and isolation."

## Hard work to make grade

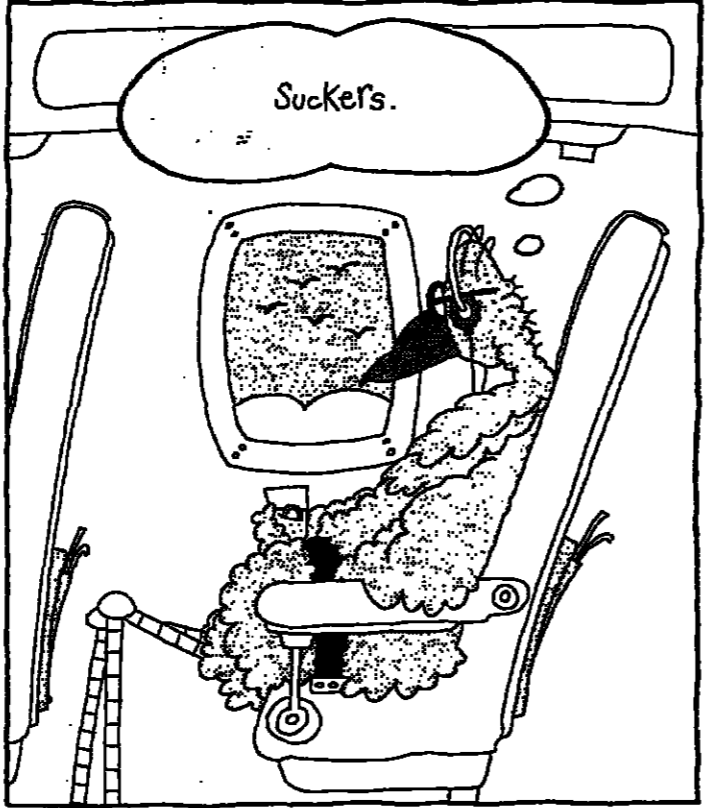
Outlooks  
Lucy Manning and Stephen Lytle

**D**ANIELA Cammack is 16 years old and lives in Manchester. She has just received eight A stars and two As in her GCSEs. "Teenagers are taking their lives a lot more seriously now. The aim is to try and get somewhere. My friends got really good GCSE results, but that is because our whole year worked really hard. At the same time, I've also gone out more now than I ever did. "It is always drummed into us we have to work hard, so we will get jobs, but at the end there is no guarantee we will get anything." Peter Harris, from west

London, scorns suggestions that British teenagers have never had it so good. "I don't think the politicians really know what they are talking about. I'm 15 and I've been nudged three times already. Drugs are causing the problems. I know lots of kids my age who take them. When I have been attacked, it's always been by people who are on them. You shouldn't feel frightened to go out, but a lot of the time that's how I feel." Pessimistic about finding a job when he leaves school next year, he added: "I'm going to work hard for my GCSEs but I don't think they'll really help me to get a job." Paul Smart, aged 16 from Hackney, east London, concurred. "I've just had my GCSE results and I got five, but that doesn't mean I am going to get a job."

But a more positive view is taken by 15-year-old Marisa Vorayos, from Ladbroke Grove, west London. "I love being a teenager. I'm not that worried about getting a job. I want to be a stewardess and I reckon as long as I work hard I'll get there." Self-employed businessman Jeremy Gillis, aged 18, left school last year. "I'm really enjoying life at the moment. I go out most nights and spend my money on eating out, clothes and going to pubs and clubs. We do have more freedom because there are now more places to go and things to do. "However, previously there was not as much pressure. Now you're expected to wear certain clothes and go to certain places. There is also more pressure to stay on at school and get qualifications."

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The Earlybird books early and gets himself a nice seat by the window.

Book early and get the seats you want. The family can all sit together or you can grab yourself a seat with a good view. But only if you're an Earlybird.

THOMSON

## Under-25s say they have little regard for the law

Crime  
Stuart Miller

**A**HOME Office survey of youth crime levels — the first not based on police figures, which cannot record undetected crimes — gives substance to the impression of a generation with little regard for the law. Young People and Crime, based on interviews with 2,500 young people aged 14-25, confirmed that crime and drug abuse are widespread among those under 25. Around 50 per cent of boys and a third of girls had been

involved in thefts or violent crime, while similar numbers admitted using drugs at some time. Seventeen per cent of boys and 13 per cent of girls aged 14-17 had been involved in property theft. Involvement in crime was most likely to start at age 15 for both boys and girls — about a year later than problems such as running away from home and truancy. Drug taking was most likely to start at age 16. The survey found that girls were just as likely to commit crime as boys but had grown out of it by their late teens, whereas a third of males had become part of a generation of "perpetual adolescents", still offending by their mid-20s.

## Age of first intercourse tumbles over the course of a generation

Sex  
Chris Minih

**O**NE of the most striking changes in teenage health risks is in the area of sexual activity. The huge National Survey of Sexual Attitudes and Lifestyles — the study Lady Thatcher refused to fund — published in 1994, found a dramatic drop in the age of first intercourse. Among women aged 55 to 59 at the time of the interview the average age of first intercourse was 21, while in the 15-24 age range it was 17. The average age at first inter-

course for men aged 55 to 59 was 20, while for those aged 16 to 19 it was 17. But among teenagers under 16 who are sexually active, nearly 19 per cent of women aged 16 to 19 had sex before the age of 16, compared with just 1 per cent of those aged 55-59. Among men 26 per cent of the younger group had intercourse before 16, compared with 6 per cent of the older group. This level of sexual activity is reflected in figures for teenage pregnancies and abortions, although the number of conceptions has dropped considerably. Between 1969 and 1993 the number of conceptions fell by more than 36,000.

News in brief

'Near-famine' in North Korea

A UNITED STATES congressman who has made a rare visit to North Korea said yesterday that many there were surviving on a near-famine diet. "People are terribly thin," said Tony Hall, a Democrat from Ohio and a House of Representatives expert on hunger and poverty who has travelled widely in Africa and Asia. "We were told that since January people have lost a minimum of 30lbs apiece."

Swimming ace stabbed

THE Russian swimmer Alexander Popov, a double-gold medalist at the Atlanta Olympics, was seriously ill in hospital yesterday after being stabbed on a Moscow street. Mr Popov, who has been the dominant force in sprint freestyle for the past five years, was stabbed in south-west Moscow on Saturday night after an argument with a roadside watermelon seller.

Female UN chief sought

AN INTERNATIONAL women's organisation based in New York opened a campaign in 75 countries at the weekend to get a woman elected secretary-general of the United Nations. The organisation, Equality Now, has selected six candidates from what it says is a pool of "many qualified women around the world". It is circulating posters to its 2,000 affiliated groups worldwide, with pictures of the candidates and the names and addresses of the Security Council delegates who must decide by the end of the year whether Boutros Boutros-Ghali will have another term.

Kurd peace talks in doubt

BRITAIN offered on Saturday to host peace talks in London between two Kurdish factions in northern Iraq. But a ceasefire yesterday to end a week of fighting appeared in doubt. The state department in Washington said last Friday that the Kurdistan Democratic Party and the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan had agreed to a truce. Glyn Davies, the state department spokesman, said the KDP leader Massoud Barzani and the PUK's Jalal Talabani promised to meet Robert Pelletreau, the US assistant secretary of state in September to seek reconciliation.

Bodies pile up in strike

BODIES piled up in mortuaries around Zimbabwe yesterday after the government dismissed public service workers who went on a week-long strike for higher wages. President Robert Mugabe said he might use the strike to trim the civil service. The Public Service Commission said on Saturday it had sacked thousands of the strikers - including nurses, junior doctors, mortuary attendants, magistrates, customs officers and fire fighters - for defying an order to return to work. "We don't take kindly to illegal strikes. Already the civil service is too large and this might be an opportunity for us to reduce it," Mr Mugabe said on return from a summit of southern African leaders in Lesotho at the weekend.



Sisters of the Missionaries of Charity arrive at the Calcutta hospital yesterday where Mother Teresa is being treated for a serious illness. Doctors say she is slightly better, but not out of danger. Many thousands have joined in prayer for the nun, aged 85, known for her devotion to the poor.

Circumcision ban urged

AN EGYPTIAN human rights group mourned the death yesterday of a 14-year-old girl after a circumcision operation and urged the government to ban the ancient but dangerous procedure. Amna Abdelhamid Mohammed died in a private hospital on Saturday after the operation, which involves the removal of some or all of the external genitalia. The government daily newspaper al-Ahram said she died from a haemorrhage and that the surgeon had disappeared.

'Chinese missiles' in Pakistan

UNITED STATES intelligence officials believe that Pakistan is secretly building a factory to make medium-range missiles, using blueprints and equipment supplied by China, a development they say raises the prospect of a new dispute with Beijing. The factory, in a suburb of Rawalpindi, is expected to be ready within the next couple years to produce most of the main components of a missile modelled on the Chinese M-11. The US has twice imposed limited economic sanctions on China for selling M-11 missile launchers and components to Pakistan, lifting them when China promised to halt deliveries. It might respond to the missile factory by imposing broad economic sanctions on both countries.

DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION: President plans new deals to shake off internal dissent

Aiming for a gun-law hit

Martin Walker in Chicago

THE Democratic Party convention opens here today with President Clinton determined to keep the political spotlight on himself and the new policies he is unveiling this week and away from the delegates' mutinous mutterings against his enactment of the Republican welfare bill.

of delegates inside, are appalled at Mr Clinton's enactment of a welfare reform which ends 61 years of federal commitment to last-resort care of impoverished children and their mothers.

Mr Clinton, determined at least to match the Republicans' made-for-television convention and return his opinion poll lead to the comfortable double figures, will announce a toughening of the gun control laws today.

Mr Clinton will take credit for passing the popular Brady bill, named after Mr Reagan's then press secretary, which makes anyone wanting to buy a handgun wait five days. He will announce a ban on the high-power bullets known as "cop-killers", and add convicted spouse abusers to those forbidden to own handguns.

Chicago policeman Mike Robbins, shot nine times, who will support the ban on cop-killer bullets. Without a retired general Colin Powell to offer the prime-time television audience, and with a highly controversial Hillary Clinton to follow Elizabeth Dole's stellar performance, the Democrats are intensely nervous of falling short of the Republican convention's choreographed success.

Mr Dole flew into Chicago yesterday to speak at a Republican picnic and steal some Democratic thunder. But he is already backing away from his much-ridiculed promise of a 15 per cent tax cut. Yesterday he said: "The balanced budget amendment is going to be number one, balancing the budget by 2002 - and tax cuts are going to be number two."

They are nervous of falling short of the Republicans' choreographed success

only help the Republicans. "I am supporting the ticket, no question, because the alternative is Dole in the White House and Newt Gingrich running Congress," said Mr Jackson, who addresses the convention tomorrow.

He will announce a new environmental programme. In his formal acceptance speech to the convention on Thursday, he will try to dampen the welfare revolt with new job-training and job-creation measures and new grants to let welfare recipients return to school.

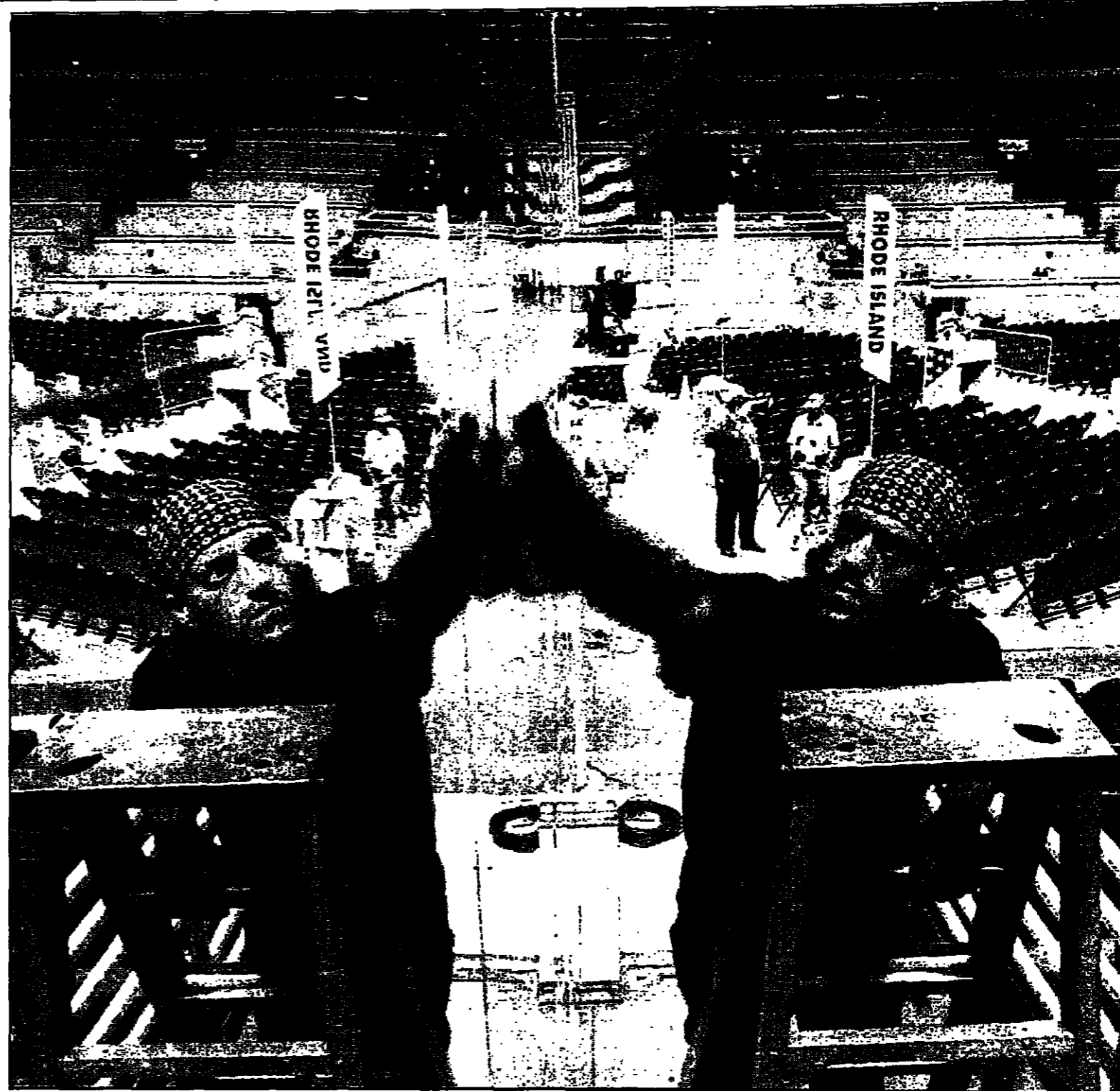
His announcements today and tomorrow will be beamed by satellite to the convention hall. Tonight's statement will coincide with a convention speech by Sarah Brady, a tireless campaigner for gun control since her husband James was permanently disabled in the 1981 assassination attempt on President Ronald Reagan.

Jonathan Freedland, Media, G2, page 7

City of bears and bulls, gangsters and party bosses

Bob Dart in Chicago

THIS is the town where Oprah Winfrey works and Ferris Bueller took his day off, where Al Capone and Richard Daley were bosses, where the Blues Brothers sang and Michael Jordan soars. It is the favourite city for political conventions.



A mirror on the podium in Chicago's United Centre gets a final polish yesterday before the Democratic convention opens today. PHOTOGRAPH: ROBERT ELKAY

Prescott woos Labour voters in US

Tony Blair's deputy waxed lyrical about Clinton as he opened a new party branch with a little help from old Democratic friends, writes Martin Walker

AN NEW branch of the British Labour Party was formally opened in Chicago yesterday by John Prescott, the deputy party leader, and by the Democratic Party chairman, Senator Chris Dodd, to symbolise the growing closeness of the two parties across the Atlantic.

Blair's own meetings with the Clintons in Washington this year to the regular US visits of Labour's shadow chancellor, Gordon Brown, who was due to arrive in Chicago late last night. In the 1992 US elections, the Labour pollster Philip Gould worked in the Clinton campaign headquarters in Little Rock. Mr Prescott's open enthusiasm for the American connection is far less known, after his sceptical remarks during the last leadership election about the fashion for "Clintonising" the Labour Party.

Immigrant trap in welfare act

Christopher Reed in Los Angeles

THE welfare reform act President Clinton signed last week strengthened Proposition 187, the anti-immigrant measure in California widely criticised as racist and ruled unconstitutional by the courts.

A group of liberal lawyers who successfully fought Prop 187 met at the weekend to discuss the implications. They hope to find loopholes in Mr Wilson's directive which will allow them to launch new assaults. But the state is also likely to return to court with the argument that the welfare act removes barriers to state action against immigrants, whether they are legal or illegal.

'You can get inspired to lift your head out of the trenches and talk about ideas'

ture in Argentina in the late 1970s. Mr Prescott has stayed at the home of the new Democratic Party chairman and campaigned for him in each of his last three Senate elections. This reinforces a determined effort by the Labour Party under Tony Blair to forge a series of personal Anglo-American special relationships with an eye on the prospect of a re-elected Clinton administration working closely with a Blair government in Britain.

after the Clinton administration's open distaste for the zealous support shown by Conservative Party officials for President Bush's re-election in 1992. "It's quite important that the transatlantic political dialogue is conducted between people who are personal friends," Mr Prescott said. "And there is a lot in the Clinton administration for Labour to admire. He may not be getting much credit for creating 10 million jobs here in the US, but it is an extraordinary performance."

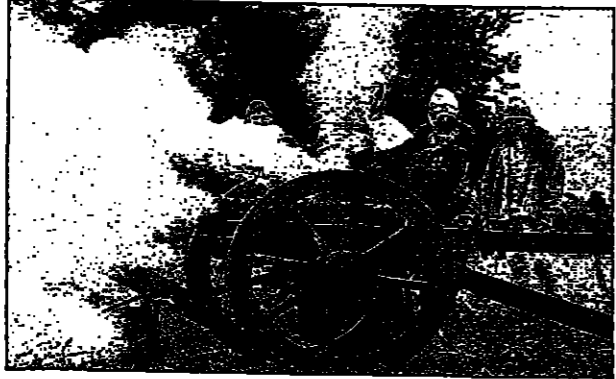
The courts lose that authority under the welfare act. "The new law has enacted much of what Prop 187 sought to accomplish, perhaps even more," said Daniel Killy, the legal affairs adviser to California's Republican governor, Pete Wilson, who supported it.

Mr Wilson is to issue an executive order this week directing state departments to comply with the new law, which removes federal guarantees of unemployment and other benefits in force for more than 60 years. Many benefits could evaporate at state level, but banning illegal immigrants from state schools in California remains open to a legal challenge.

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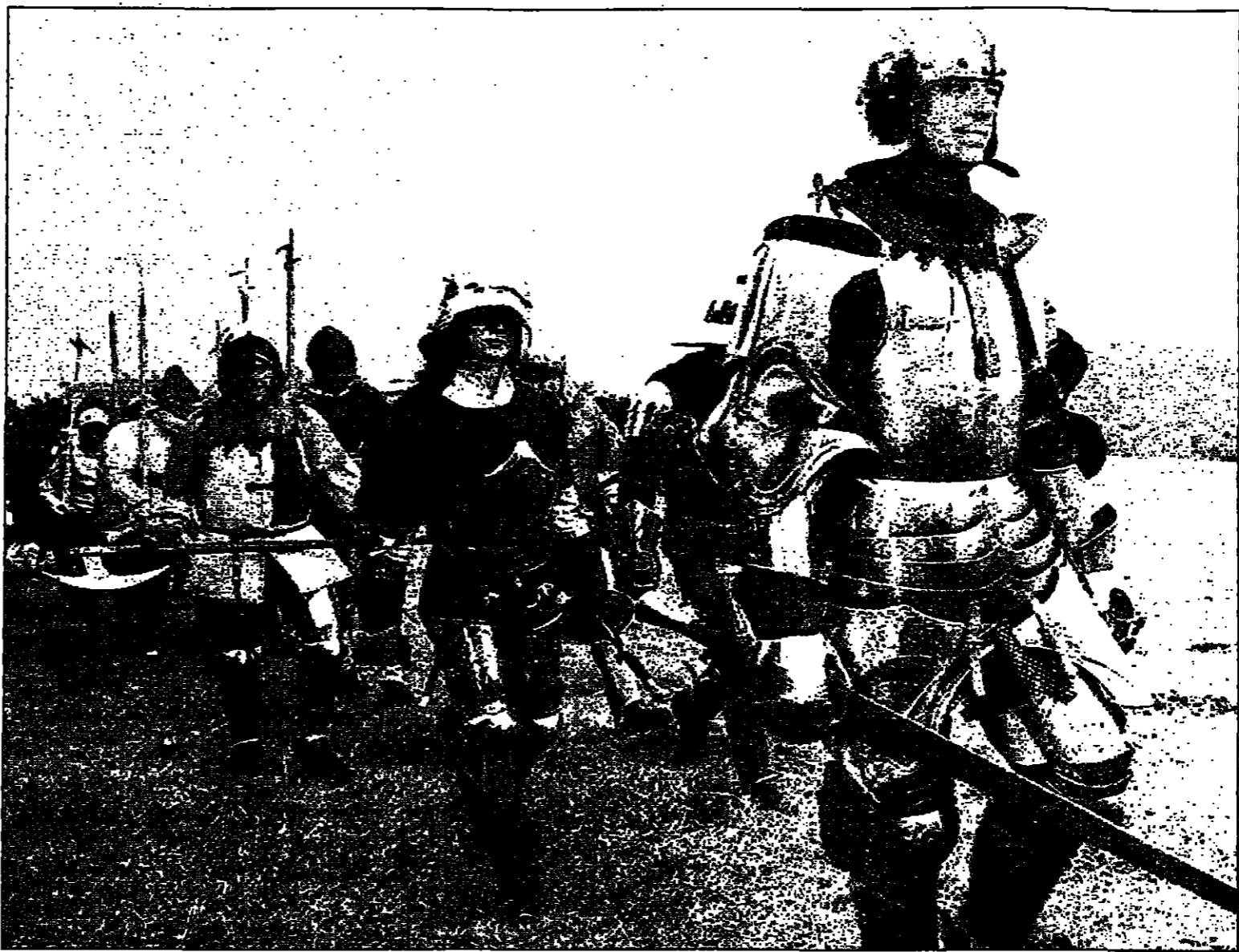
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The heirs of Edward III's archers returned to a Picardy hilltop yesterday determined to show that when it comes to the art of historical reconstruction, the English still come out on top.

Alex Duval Smith reports from a rain-soaked battlefield in Crécy-en-Ponthieu



British extras get ready yesterday to do battle again at Crécy, 650 years after Edward III's archers killed 20,000 Frenchmen

Officer held in child inquiry

Stephen Bates in Brussels

MOUNTING suspicions that the paedophile gang accused of Belgium's worst sex crimes against children may have had official protection appeared to receive some confirmation last night as a police inspector was arrested.

Another string to the Cressy bow

SIX HUNDRED and fifty years after Edward III's disciplined archers massacred 20,000 disorganised Frenchmen, the English returned to Crécy yesterday, determined to prove their superiority all over again.

At the English base camp, on top of the Picardy hill from which the English longbowmen showered arrows at Philippe VI's forces on August 26 1346, reports came in of slapdash Continental behaviour.

Mr Hubbard fans of the Middle Ages in Germany, Switzerland, France and Belgium. In a spare moment, he made a pair of spectacles for a member of the Norwich group.

John of Luxembourg, King of Bohemia, could have done with a pair when he came to Crécy — spelt Cressy in English — on a rainy day 650 years ago.

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King of Bohemia, could have done with a pair when he came to Crécy — spelt Cressy in English — on a rainy day 650 years ago.

Advertisement for TSB Mortgage Quotation Line. Features a large headline: 'A mortgage quote in 10 minutes flat. No wonder it's called a hotline.' Includes contact information: CALL FREE 0500 758 000. Text: 'Make a quick call to TSB PhoneBank for a free mortgage quote. Because you'll save yourself a lot of time by finding out exactly how much you can borrow before you go house hunting. So if you want a free quote in ten minutes flat, ring TSB PhoneBank on the number below and simply ask for it.'

News in brief

Jordan curbs study in Iraq

Jordan, which has blamed Iraq for domestic bread riots, will not let Jordanians study in Baghdad this year under an Iraqi university scholarship programme, officials said yesterday.

PM effigy burnt

Students in Bogra, northern Bangladesh, fought police and burned an effigy of the prime minister, Sheikh Hasina, who was visiting the area, during a strike to protest against the killing of students by police. — Reuter.

Jail without trial

Thousands of people held in Nigerian prisons have not been tried and languish there for years before courts hear their cases, a Nigerian human rights group, the Constitutional Rights Project, said. — Reuter.

Casino fire deaths

Eight people died yesterday in a blaze at a Moscow casino which the fire service said might have been started deliberately, Interfax news agency said. — Reuter.

Rebel abductions

Christian fundamentalist rebels of the Lord's Resistance Army fighting to overthrow President Yoweri Museveni abducted 50 girl pupils in a raid on a school in northern Uganda, the state-owned Sunday Vision newspaper reported. — Reuter.

Murder victims

A mutiny aboard the Honduras-registered tuna fishing vessel Peakamar-15 has left at least 11 crewmen, including seven South Koreans and three Indonesians, dead in the Pacific Ocean, maritimes police said in Seoul. — AP.

Lethal spirits

A methyl alcohol dilution of Chinese spirits killed 35 people and caused 192 cases of alcohol poisoning in Yunnan province, southern China, a newspaper report said. Ten people were arrested last week for diluting an unspecified amount of spirits with three tons of methyl alcohol. — AP.

Troops struggle to save frozen Kashmir pilgrims

Suzanne Goldenberg in New Delhi

INDIAN troops fought yesterday to rescue thousands of stranded pilgrims along a perilous 30-mile mountain trail, ferrying the weakest to safety by helicopter and leading the able-bodied down by foot.

who were ferried to the Kashmir capital, Srinagar, and other towns yesterday by three military helicopters.

The pilgrimage has officially been cancelled. But the extent of the summer storms means that even pilgrims who had not yet left the starting point of the trek, at the town of Pahalgam, are now stranded.

More than 100 pilgrims have frozen to death since Thursday after the annual yatra, or pilgrimage, to the cave of Amarnath in the northern state of Kashmir was hit by torrential rains and more than a foot of snow.

Helicopters dropped warm clothing, blankets, food and first aid kits to the pilgrims who were still on the trail.

Many of the devotees wore only light clothing, and some saffris, or Hindu ascetics, were naked except for a coating of ash.

About 60 people who were having breathing problems at the high altitudes were flown to safety.

The priority was to bring back ailing pilgrims, a state government spokesman, K. B. Jandial, said.

The storms put paid to what had been expected to be the best attended Amarnath pilgrimage for years. The eruption of a Kashmiri separatist uprising last year, and the arrival of the army, had become a target of Islamist groups.

The Press Trust of India said 160 people had died since Thursday, while officials put the toll at 121.

Last year, an Islamist group banned the pilgrimage, enforcing its edict by staging two bomb attacks despite the deployment of thousands of troops along the route.

Last night, Kashmiri separatist leaders said they were shocked at the heavy toll, and offered condolences to the families of the dead.

Israeli president heads queue for Arafat talks

Derek Brown in Jerusalem

THE Palestinian leader, Yasser Arafat, appeared yesterday to have Israeli leaders queuing up to meet him.

Mr Netanyahu made it clear that it would go ahead with or without the prime minister's blessing.

The meeting was to take place within a fortnight at Mr Weizman's private residence in Caesarea, on the Mediterranean coast. It was unclear last night whether this would still be the venue if Mr Netanyahu was involved.

A morning announcement that Ezer Weizman, Israel's outspoken and unpredictable president, would be inviting Arafat to his home, was followed later in the day by a report on Israel television saying that Benjamin Netanyahu — the hardline prime minister who has so far disdained such a tête-à-tête — would also meet the president of the Palestinian Authority.

Last Thursday, Mr Netanyahu was obliged to telephone President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt to reassure him that talks would resume soon.

Mr Mubarak had earlier warned that November's scheduled Middle East economic summit could be postponed if there was no sign of progress in the wider search for peace.

As of now, President Weizman, Prime Minister Netanyahu and Defence Minister Yitzhak Mordechai will meet within two weeks with Yasser Arafat, Israel television said.

Mr Netanyahu's point of view, when the self-rule Palestinian Authority ordered the closure of two offices in Jerusalem.

Mr Netanyahu has repeatedly accused the PLO of violating the peace accord by maintaining institutions in the city, Israel, which captured and unilaterally annexed East Jerusalem, says that despite its promise to discuss the future status of the city, it will remain for ever its united and exclusive property.

Mr Weizman was believed to have agreed to his original

meeting to assuage Mr Arafat's chagrin at being snubbed by Mr Netanyahu.

The closure of the two obscure offices is unlikely to end Israeli claims that the PLO is operating illegally in Jerusalem. But the Palestinians clearly hope it will put pressure on Israel to implement its long-delayed promise to remove most of its occupation troops from the flash-point West Bank city of Hebron.

Tiptoeing over troubled waters
But where is Bill Clinton going?

THE DEMOCRATIC convention this week marks Bill Clinton's personal mid-term: between the first presidency which now draws to a close and the second which he is still favourite to win. (Bob Dole's convention "bounce" has already begun to look less substantial in the latest polls.) Mr Clinton, as well as America, lies "between hope and history" — the title, borrowed from a poem by Seamus Heaney, for his new book of speeches. The high hopes of change with which he arrived in 1992 have been toppled by a shortfall of personal commitment and a shortage of congressional support. His second presidency, with no further election ahead, will fix his place in history. Chicago could offer him the chance to restate his vision and recommit his energies to a more ambitious programme. That is how the campaign managers will seek to project his acceptance speech on Thursday. He will talk of a new technological challenge which is producing the most rapid change since the US made the transition, a century ago, "from the agricultural to the industrial age." He will call for a new campaign to "mend the fabric of family and community"; he will speak of opportunity and responsibility. He will identify crime, education and the environment as prime targets for the second term. But can America really expect a meaningful declaration of intent after four years in which Mr Clinton has learnt the hard way to trim goals and dodge obstacles? He is not the first president to have been compelled to do so by an adverse shift of congressional power: yet it was always more difficult than his many admirers would admit to discern the substance behind his engaging but fuzzy image. For all the rhetoric about the next millennium, this is a fundamentally conservative, post-visionary age and Mr Clinton expresses it aptly.

It would require a huge leap of imagination, and a massive infusion of confidence, to elevate substance over soundbite during this week's proceedings. Yet the danger for the Democrats is that their convention will have the same switching-off effect as the Republican affair two weeks ago. The speech planned for tomorrow by Hillary Clinton is seen as a move to "showcase" the First Lady, in an attempt to outdo Elizabeth Dole's performance in San Diego. Where the Republican organisers had blacks and party moderates to present a more viewer-friendly face, the Democrats will have "citizens", of more and less famous varieties, to show how Mr Clinton is in touch with the common person. The US media may be constrained from cynicism by Christopher Reeve's appearance in the opening proceedings tonight but their patience will not last long. The New York Times and other leading newspapers have already signalled their priority: to discover "what ever happened to liberalism" and — with the Democrats split down the middle on welfare — to "look for signs of dissent on the left." Just as the Republicans kept their vote-aligning conservatives out of sight, so the Democrats will seek to squelch any more progressive or questioning voices which might upset middle America.

The spurt of policy pronouncements last week offers a good sample of Mr Clinton's style and substance. There was one relic of the Old Democrats (an increase in the minimum wage) and one model of the New (his disturbingly illiberal measures on welfare). There was a bill on expanding access to health insurance which falls far short of the original 1992 goal of insuring all Americans. He also approved regulations cracking down on cigarette sales to young people. There was a 50th birthday party which attracted more attention than anything else. And, with the sentencing of good friend Susan McDougal, an unwelcome reminder of Whitewater...

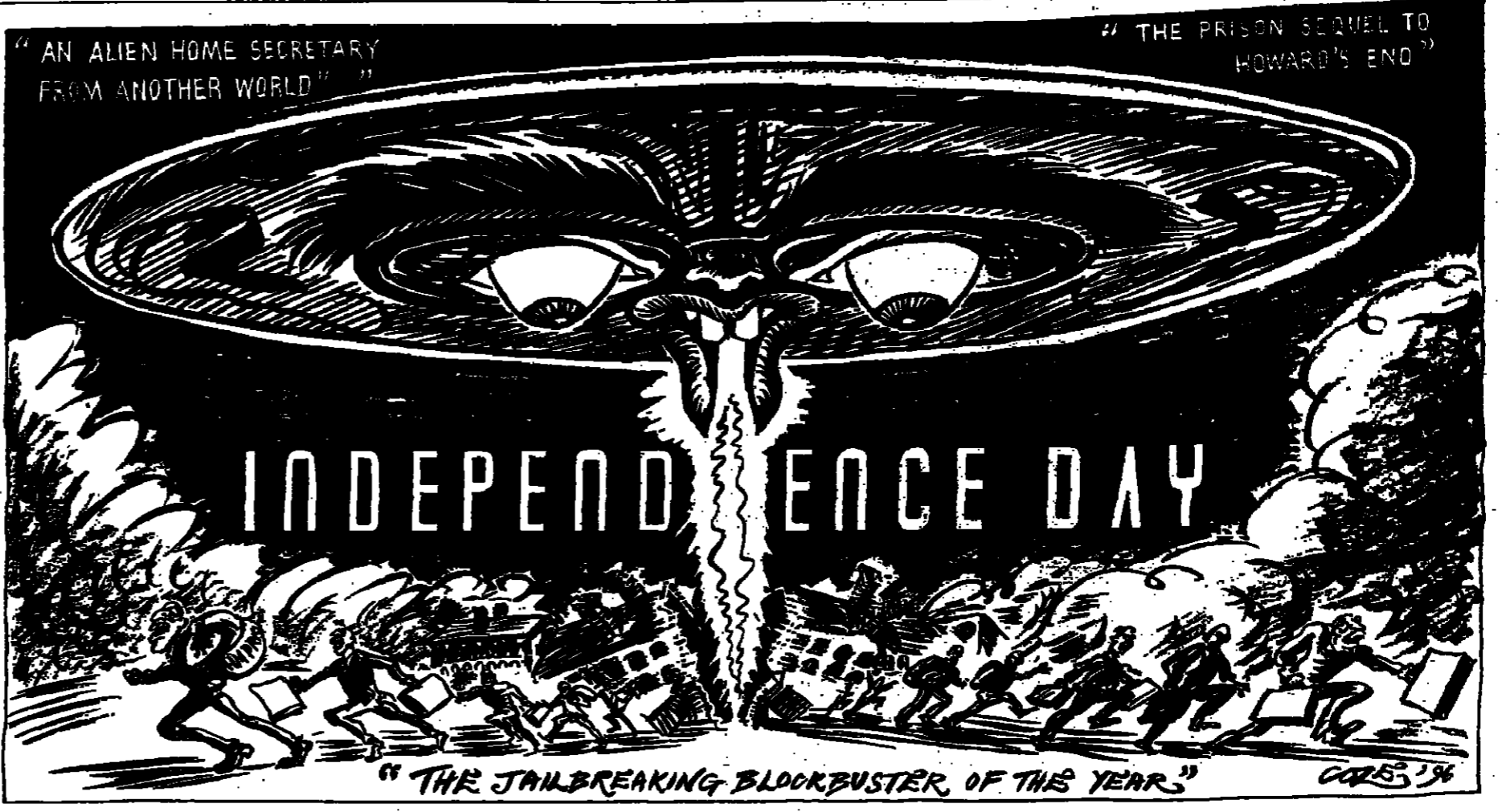
Confused? So are we all. Former New York governor Mario Cuomo (whose liberal voice will not be heard at the convention) says that Mr Clinton is tiptoeing across the troubled waters, one stone at a time. It's a good description, but does anyone know what lies on the other side?

Diving for cover

The evasions of Michael Howard

COMPARE the contrasting approaches of a public servant and a politician to an identical scandal. Prison officials are told by Home Office lawyers they have been miscalculating inmate release dates for perhaps 30 years. Prisoners who are serving consecutive sentences should have the time spent on remand deducted from each sentence — not just one. What happens? Instructions are sent out to all 140 prisoners in the system to re-examine release dates; notices of possible earlier release dates are posted in jails; governors concede that prisoners held beyond their lawful release date should receive compensation; inmates begin emerging early from prison gates; an official explains to the press: "It was an issue of natural justice... having been advised we were breaking the provision of the Act, we had a duty to put it right." Enter the Home Secretary. Initially he goes along with the same advice, but then, as the political storm mounts, he takes the oldest route in the game: if at first your lawyer gives you unpalatable advice, change your lawyer. Armed with an opposing legal opinion he has frozen the release programme and asked the courts to resolve the issue.

Michael Howard is not responsible for almost 30 years of legal misinterpretation of consecutive sentence release dates. He has only been Home Secretary for three years. He may even be absolved from blame for failing to announce this change in operational policy. He claims he only heard of it from the media. But what is undeniable is Michael Howard's readiness to duck responsibility — and his unreadiness to take tough decisions. Unable to turn to his public servants to continue 30-year-long miscalculations he now turns to the courts in the hope of persuading them. Logically — and morally — the Home Office lawyers' interpretation of the release date looks right: if prisoners are entitled to remission on each consecutive sentence, then logically they should be entitled to the deduction of remand time as well. This is not a change in policy but a change in how policy is applied. The reason why Mr Howard was not consulted was because of his very own responsibility-dodging doctrine of divided prison department accountability: prison officials being responsible for anything that happens in them (operations), ministers merely responsible for policy. It is no use him whingeing now. He devised the doctrine.



Letters to the Editor

Back Edward, boo John

EDWARD Said (He won't gag me, August 23) now has the unique distinction of being lauded both by Zionists and the Palestinian establishment. No doubt it will become very convenient to use this as evidence that the man is mad. In the grotesque ballet performed by Rabin and Arafat, produced and presented by the Americans, and applauded by the world's media, it is Said, almost alone, who has seen that it is they who are mad. When all about us talk as if nationalism was a solution, Said is splendidly and courageously clinging to those crazy, universal values — freedom, democracy, a decent standard of living and all that rubbish. In this imperfect world, Said is not only a human being, he is also a Palestinian, just as I am also a Jew. Long may he continue to speak. Michael Rosen, Holloway Road, London N7.

CONGRATULATIONS to Caine Ratwell, the girl with Down's syndrome, on gaining five GCSEs (August 23). Perhaps this will convince the hospital in question of the value of a heart and lung transplanted for 13-year-old Joanne Harris (Pig of a problem in the operating theatre, August 22). Carola Zeegen, Fikentscher Strabe 15b, 76229 Karlsruhe, Germany.

JACK Straw says the Labour Party would have suspected measures to keep multiple offenders in jail despite the fact that their sentences were wrongly calculated and they should have been freed (Howard halts jail releases, August 24). Prisoners have rights too and if the Labour Party won't stick up for them who will? Nigel Baker, 51 Cephas Ave, London E1 4AR.

JOHN Birt wants an above-the-line rise in the BBC licence fee (Gateway to the BBC's future, August 24). Yet when it comes to the World Service, he disdains public opinion, and pleads that many know best. Why exactly should I care what this overpaid oligarchist? (Dr) Alan Bullion, Flat 7, Oak House, Oak Road, Tunbridge Wells, Kent TN2 3AN. Please include a full postal address and daytime telephone number, even in e-mailed letters.

End of the motor show

ALEX SINDING'S assertion (Letters, August 24) that we cannot blame vehicle emissions for illness and death because they are not the only source of pollution is as disingenuous as the tobacco industry's suggestion that there are causes of bronchitis and heart disease other than smoking. He also fails to acknowledge that CO2 emissions cannot be reduced by catalytic conversion. Edmund King's statement (also Letters, August 24) that "one of the most polluted streets in the UK is Oxford Street, where cars are banned" is simply not true; it is regularly filled with taxis and buses.

Mr Sinding may be right (for the wrong reason) when he says that, in 15 years' time, "car pollution will no longer be a problem." If global energy demand continues to accelerate at the present rate, it will exceed the output from the remaining sources of supply within 20 to 30 years. Assuming we have not poisoned ourselves first, the dramatic price rises resulting from fossil-fuel depletion may succeed as a deterrent where common sense has failed. The sooner we accept that the era of cheap and plentiful energy is coming to an end, the more chance we have of averting a potential disaster. Paul Hayward, Rowan House, Silkestone Common, Barnsley S75 4QP.

ALEX Sinding says that vehicles produce less air pollution than industry. However, it is particularly damaging because so much is produced in the areas where people live and at the height at which they breathe. Another type of pollution often overlooked is noise. Many people cannot enjoy their front gardens or chat to people on the pavements because of traffic noise. Cars and lorries are the main culprits because buses tend to avoid residential streets. The real solution is for the Government to sharply increase petrol taxes, in order to finance investment in cheaper and more frequent public transport. Richard Mountford, 78 Springfield Road, Birmingham B14 7DY.

CLOSING roads will not help London's pollution problem. It will lead to traffic jams on other roads and so increase harmful fumes. We need radical changes such as cleaner "city" diesel fuel, vehicles that run on gas or electricity; incentives to car share, more freight sent by rail and a cheap and integrated public transport system. This may seem expensive but treatment for breathing problems now costs the NHS (taxpayer) over £410 million a year. C Wells, 67 Dulverton Road, Ruislip, Middx HA4 9AF.

IF PUBLIC opinion is to accept the need for changes in transport behaviour, we need incentives as well as penalties. Given the difficulties of general increases in taxation, the way forward is to target new environmental taxes on undesirable behaviour and use the money to fund desirable transport schemes. This trust, for example, advocates a new tax rate on businesses and retail parks with private car parking, using the money for town centre and transport improvements. Michael Gwilliam, Director, Civic Trust, 17 Carfax House Terrace, London SW1Y 5AW.

ALL the measures aimed at the reduction of car fumes come from correspondents with city or town addresses. A heavy increase in petrol duty, traffic restrictions and the removal of old cars would only make life more difficult for elderly residents who live in hilly districts with little or no public transport and miles from a supermarket centre. Dennis Mason, Pen y Bryn, Benthall, Nr Croxley, Satop TF12 5RR. If the car causes greater ill-health and environmental damage than cigarettes, should not the Government impose a health warning on all car advertisements? Derek Tilston, 19 The Street, Winnet, Halesworth, Suffolk.

Tips on how to stop (some) men behaving (very) badly

KATE Travers (Letters, August 23) asks where we can re-educate men that sex with children is wrong. The answer is the youth service, an institution designed precisely to address personal and social education and the life skills that have such low self-esteem. We also need or so qualified, young women and several hundred hours of trained volunteers and mentors. Throughout the country, they are involving young people in making ethical decisions, creating a place outside of home and school where they can be safe and confident that they are their beliefs. Yet the lack of a specific statutory base for the funding of this work means that provision remains patchy, with projects increasingly reliant on Lottery windfalls.

Jim Burrows, National Youth Agency, 17-23 Albion Street, Leicester LE1 6GD. We support and develop good practice with sexual offenders and believe that some rapists are amenable to treatment. However, we also recognise that for some, long-term incarceration may be the only answer and understand the attraction of proposals for serious, second-time sexual offenders to receive life sentences. But sentencing powers to impose discretionary life sentences for certain sexual offences already exist. A more rigorous application of those powers, combined with practical for assessment about which men pose the greatest risk, is required. Acqui rates in rape cases are extremely high. Ironically, juries may be less likely to convict if they know that a defendant will automatically receive a life sentence. Lisa Marcham, Chair, National Association for the Development of Work with Sex Offenders, 3 West Star, Sheffield S3 8PJ.

JULIE Bndal evidently believes that boys (all boys?) think violence against women and children acceptable and that men (all men?) condone child prostitution. I presume she would acknowledge that women (all women?), having overwhelmingly the responsibility for childcare and nursery education, are responsible for these attitudes. Where should re-education start? Ian Johnston, Alvanley Terrace, Edinburgh.

A Country Diary

THEORE HAMILT, Norwich: Now that we're debating the Union Jack on our identity cards, I'm proposing another change in the national symbols. Let's drop the rose and adopt buddleia as the national flower. So, it's a Chinese import brought to Europe via Russia, but it's named after a Lincolnshire-born clergyman, Adam Buddle. It also expresses the nature of the contemporary British landscape far more completely than the rose. There are, for example, few more beautiful scenes in the finest city than a swathe of buddleia bursting with fat lavender cones. They look at its extraordinary adaptability. Whoever saw a healthy rose growing right by the tracks of the London Underground, or four metres up a wall, drawing nourishment from a few grams of soil and a bit of decayed cement? And, as a statement about wilderness Britain, I believe it has no equal. Buddleia probably grows best on wasteland. Take a place on an unused railway siding or undeveloped building site, throw

in some stinging iron, a few derelict buildings and only a few years later — an Eden of buddleia. Wasteland, unlike almost any other patch of Britain, is untrammelled by human intention. Everywhere else, even on nature reserves, you're constantly aware that someone has proscribed and defined the landscape's value and told you how to think about it. You are always, in a sense, an intruder in another's declared space. But wasteland, by its very nature, is without these limitations. It gives you the mental freedom implicit in real wilderness and buddleia is its key motif. If there are any floating voters on the issue of Britain's new national plant, then I offer one final image. Did you ever see a rose at noon, thick with 50 butterflies of five species, and go out again later in the evening to find those gorgeous insects replaced by a second shift, this time of Silver-Y moths, probing its orange-throated corollas for nectar? MARK COCKER

Rape and rights

ALTHOUGH I sympathise with Julia Mason, I cannot agree with Prof Sheila Ross (Women's rights not to be tarnished should be given precedence, August 24) that the law should be changed to prevent defendants from defending themselves or to limit the cross-examination that rape victims may undergo. The concentration of attention on highly emotive crimes is helping to create a climate in which defendants' rights are being undermined. I support the principle that we are innocent until proven guilty and we accept that the era of defendants' ability to defend themselves can only be detrimental to that principle. It is unfortunate that this assault on civil liberties is being led by those who proclaim themselves to be supporters of women's rights. Sara Blincliffe, Address supplied.



Ponte faction

PONTEFRACT does have a place in history, as Stephen Lyle writes (Sketch, August 22), but us Ponte people have affectionate contemporary memories of a once busy, industrial and important market town. He could have mentioned the coal mines he might have said something about the famous Pontefrac races. As for those black, liquorice mini-pancakes, the mainstay of their survival is attributable to Wilkinson's, their mass producer, in the shadow of whose factory I was born. I suppose Mr Lyle can be forgiven though for not digging up the important fact that in the twenties, the town was invaded by a number of latter-day Romans who made ice cream, which they sold from horse-drawn freezers or, as my mother did, from their proudly scorched doorsteps. Ray Bellisario, 375 Convent Way, Norwood Green, Middx.

Oh Mr Howard, what a one you are

Endpiece Roy Hattersley

TODAY I write in praise of Michael Howard. And who better to express the nation's gratitude for his existence? For, in the past, I have accused him of the worst offence known to Home Secretaries — greater incompetence than Kenneth Baker. Yet today, I rejoice that he is part of our public life. In a government which is tragically lacking in humour and a Parliament that is sadly deficient in wit, he provides occasional slapstick comedy. Whilst Douglas Hogg imitates the boy who stood on the burning deck — or at least on incinerating cows — Michael Howard sets his own trousers on fire. Rejoice! Rejoice! The Three Stooges did not live in vain. I enjoy Mr Howard's performance most when he becomes half of a classic

double-act. Serious and white-faced, he begins his monologue. "It's a funny old world we live in/Labour's entirely to blame." Or "It's the richest wet gets the pleasure and the poor wet... but who cares about them?" Then he is interrupted by a straight man, usually the Director-General (pro tempore) of the Prison Service. "I say, I say, I say. Have you heard the one about the thieves and rapists who were let out of jail last week?" Or "Do you know the story about the terrorist who escaped from the top security wing?" Quick as a flash, the parliamentary-comedian answers, "No." The laughter brings the house down. It is on the character of "Mr Implausible" that this natural vaudeville has built his famous catchphrases. Wisely choosing not to plagiarise Bruce Forsyth's "I'm in charge", he invented several punchlines which were more suitable to his public persona — "Nobody told me" and "I'm not to blame." It is, as in the case of all born performers,

the way he tells them that does it. He has so perfected the appearance of total insincerity that he has only to say "I am calling for an urgent report" and the whole country collapses in hysteria. I should have at least recognised his talent for mimicry years ago. When I was an officer of something called the European Movement, our headquarters was often under siege from the young and aspiring Michael Howard, who brilliantly signed anxiety to speak in favour of European integration. I now recall that this multi-talented entertainer (who can throw a custard pie like a boomerang) was merely doing his Edward Heath imitation — The Great European being party leader at the time. Later, he mimicked Margaret Thatcher with even greater success. Admittedly, his attempts to look like a Home Secretary have not been so successful. But it is by his comic performances, not his celebrity impressions, that he will be remembered. Who can forget the great

spontaneous jokes with which he rose to fame? This is the man who promised that the poll tax would become popular and went on to insist — with an absolute straight face — that Derek Lewis (the dismissed Director-General of the Prison Service) was responsible for all the shortcomings of our understaffed and overcrowded jails. It is the capacity to articulate the absolutely incredible as if he really believes it that has become his distinctive characteristic. In the past, he has been compared with Uriah Heep and Obediah Slope. But is he less a Victorian villain than an Edwardian clown — one of H G Wells's shop assistants who hope to conquer the world but keeps falling off his bicycle. We should laugh, not hiss, when he comes on stage. I know that there are people to whom his act does not appeal — for example, grown-ups who can read and write. But his chosen audience loves him. And his few real fans are so faithful that they applaud

when he snuffs his lines or the trick goes wrong. The straight man in the double act is, they say, always to blame for the poor timing. Unfortunately, Howard is running out of partners. Derek Lewis was the first to go and other P40s are confidently expected. Can Howard take a place on the same old gag without a colleague whom he can beat about the head and shoulders with a giant sausage? Or will he have to find new material. When I watched him on Friday's Newswatch, I thought of the fate that befell comedians at Sheffield's Attercliffe Palace when they told the same old story too often. A great book came out from the wings and dragged them off-stage. The story that ends "I was not informed" is beginning to make people laugh at the joke, not the joke.

And that is now happening to our performing Home Secretary. The misjudged schoolboy sketch ("Please, sir, it wasn't me, sir. It was a civil servant, sir") has been performed once too often. Michael Howard, in his injured innocence mood, now embarrasses rather than entertains. The audience laughs at him not with him. So if cannot be long before the final curtain. However, because I enjoy a good giggle, I admit that I shall be sorry to see him go — feet turned out, bowler hat on the back of his head, and Malacca cane twirling as he waddles off into the sunset, never to be heard of again.

Handwritten signature or note at the bottom of the page.



صوتنا من الداخل

Phnom Penh Diary

Nick Cumming-Bruce

POL POT, Cambodia's rumour mill recently suggested, might be dead; his old friend and low mass-murderer, Jang Sary, has split from the Khmer Rouge...

This should be great news for Phnom Penh. The UN too may see this as further proof of the success already claimed for its unprecedented, \$2 billion mission to lay the foundation for a stable, more democratic Cambodia...

Robbery of foreigners at gunpoint seems almost a daily occurrence. Everybody knows someone who has been stuck up at gunpoint. "People are very fearful," reports a UN survey coordinator Carole Garrison.

"It's like the wild west," a French resident chimes in. "There are people with guns running around all over the place and we lack escorts."

Many of the robbers are rank amateurs. Teenage gunmen on two motorcycles held up a French colleague returning to his hotel after a week touring with co-prime minister Hun Sen.

"I would rather be here than in Miami," concludes Garrison, a former Atlanta, Georgia policewoman and professor of criminal justice, who worked in Cambodia during the UN administration.

In a sense this is equality out of the barrel of a gun. In the absence of any other law, Cambodians are all too used to guns as the ultimate sanction after 30 years of conflict, often fuelled by foreign sponsors, which has left them with many more guns than people.

SOLDIERS in the provinces, left unpaid for months at a time by generals growing rich on the salaries of ghost soldiers, have long shaken down road traffic. Now a swelling urban under-class, which sees corruption pouring millions of dollars into the laps of political leaders, seems to appreciate the possibilities of crime.

But the experience is a rude shock to foreigners who are used to a measure of insecurity travelling in the provinces but are also used to reference from most Cambodians as deniers of aid.

"The international community has failed Cambodia in this area big-time," argues Garrison. "They screwed up under the UN and nobody came back to fix it. They need to come back and finish it. If nothing is done, the level of real violence will match the level of fear."



Two very different ways to say sorry

Commentary

Fintan O'Toole

RUSSIANS like to say that they live in a country with an unpredictable past, and in that they are not alone. Last week's statements by FW de Klerk and Thabo Mbeki to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa were a reminder of how hard it is for people emerging from violent conflict to deal with recent history.

If you live in Ireland, where the present often seems paralysed by the past, it is tempting to answer "no" to both questions. Nationalist demands that Britain apologise

for Bloody Sunday, for the Great Famine, or for whatever atrocity is brought to mind by a convenient anniversary, are usually ways of avoiding responsibility for 25 years of IRA violence. Selective Unionist memories of those same years are often no more than a mechanism for forgetting what caused the violence in the first place, and for avoiding the messy business of making peace.

We demean human suffering by expecting people to forgive the unforgivable. We misunderstand the way grief and grievance can become almost an identity in themselves. Kirkegaard writes: "I say of my sorrow what an Englishman says of his house: my sorrow is my castle."

ally the most painful times, revealing as they did both the futility of the suffering and the prospect of those who committed or condoned the killing being feted as peacemakers. And yet, none of this takes away the power of a genuine political apology. You only have to talk to any of the victims of such conflicts to understand how deep is the hunger for public acknowledgment of what they have suffered.

The past has to be both acknowledged and defused. To do both at the same time is to steer a course between the dangers summed up in two images from art. One is the

awful image in David Edgar's play Pentecost, of the children on their way to a concentration camp in a cattle truck who were so hungry that they ate the cardboard-identification tags hung round their necks and so did not survive even as names on a list.

Oblivion is terrible, but so is frozen memory that makes friendship and affection impossible

used name" passed the test because the apology was part of a courageous attempt to alter Germany's future place in Europe. Paul Keating's apology in 1992 for the murder of aborigines and the theft of their land meant something because it was backed with money and legislation.

South Africa, though, has at least arrived at a point where a public process of acknowledgement and apology, however unsatisfactory, is possible. Northern Ireland still has a long way to go before it reaches the same point.

Fintan O'Toole is a columnist with the Irish Times. Mark Lawson is away

Bring the troops home from Cyprus



Mark Seddon

THE League of Empire Loyalists once famously infiltrated an Archbishop Makarios look-alike into the Cyprus independence talks at Marlborough House.

From the "Murder Mile" of 1960s Nicosia, where British squadries ran the gauntlet of George Grivas's Kofka B guerrillas, to the Green Line which divides Greek from Turk in the city today, this has been a sorry tale of division and segregation.

Mark Seddon is editor of Tribune. Paul Foot is away

was withdrawing from east of Suez. Why not west of Suez as well?

ACCORDING to a recent survey by Gallup, some 76 per cent of people in Britain believe that "there is a class struggle going on". This compares with 56 per cent who thought the same in 1961.

Such gobbledygook goes a long way to explaining how WH Smith have simply lost their touch. It may be inconvenient for customers to have to stand on their toes to reach past Tribune and the Literary Review for their copy of Mayfair or Asian Babes, but how is consumer choice extended by removing choice?

THE latest ABC figures show that small publications have lost 20 per cent of sales in the past year. This catastrophic collapse owes much to the attitude of companies such as WH Smith.

Mark Seddon is editor of Tribune. Paul Foot is away



The war they can't win

The ongoing battle in the Kremlin is no longer about the chaos in Chechnya, argues Jonathan Eyal: it's a raw struggle for power both in the here-and-now and in Russia after Yeltsin

ALTHOUGH peace negotiations in Chechnya appeared stalled over the weekend, it is obvious that a fundamental psychological threshold has been crossed: Russia has admitted, at least tacitly, that the war cannot be won.

Like any other government confronted with an unwinnable war, the Kremlin is divided over which policy to adopt. Some generals argue for a settlement now under any conditions, while others push for a "final" offensive which, supposedly, should secure better terms.

On civilians. And, finally, no military adventure, however well executed, can succeed unless it has a clear political aim. By authorising this reckless offensive Yeltsin brought upon Russia precisely all the ills he was seeking to avoid: a deeper disarray in the military, defiant nationalities and a state of lawlessness.

Under normal circumstances, Yeltsin would have been happy to watch Lebed being destroyed by the Kremlin machinery, as other rising military stars have been in the past.

Jonathan Eyal is director of studies at the Royal United Services Institute in London. Lebed profile: Q2 pages 6-7

amount to a complete defeat. The best way of achieving this is by turning the tables on the president and demanding that Yeltsin dismisses those responsible for the conduct of the war until now.

The battle, therefore, is no longer about Chechnya. Apart from Lebed himself, no other Russian leader is interested in the finer points of the deal currently negotiated; they all hope that Lebed will fall through the cracks of the Chechen fire and get burnt in the process.

Lebed, now fighting for his political life, is unlikely to be that obliging. Thus, the skirmishes in the Kremlin are guaranteed to continue for quite some time.

SO HE DOESN'T KNOW that free markets economics is making poor people poorer, he doesn't see the connection between personal greed and the state we're in, and he doesn't understand that helping yourself can be at the expense of others. Don't be like John - get the NL.

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Walter Stein

# Moral strategist

**W**ALTER Stein, who has died aged 71, was a lecturer and theologian, who will be chiefly remembered for his outstanding contribution from the late 1950s onwards to the debate on nuclear deterrence.

Born in Graz, Austria, of Jewish parents, he was sent to England in 1938 to escape the Nazi persecution. He was educated at Bootham College in York and graduated in English and philosophy from Manchester University, where he became a Catholic. It was a generous and open-minded Catholicism, and he described himself as a radical Christian humanist. For a time he adopted a pacifist position, registering as a wartime conscientious objector and doing alternative service in the mines.

Later, he rejected pacifism for the more traditional notion of the just war, which he developed and refined and which was the bedrock on which he based his critique of

nuclear weapons and of indiscriminate warfare of every kind. He joined the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament when it was formed in 1958. Three years later he edited the classic *Nuclear Weapons and Christian Conscience* — which was republished with alteration 20 years later during the second wave of anti-nuclear campaigning. Walter's contributions to this volume were a passionate and incisive critique of nuclear weapons and nuclear deterrence coupled with a refusal to duck the difficult issues surrounding the attempt to outlaw and abolish such weapons and develop alternative approaches to security.

He brought the same integrity and commitment to his teaching, principally in Leeds University's extra-mural department and to his literary and dramatic criticism. Any work submitted to him received rigorous critical scrutiny and careful annotation. But he was no pedant. He had a quick, ironic humour, an infectious laugh, an

extraordinary ability to empathise, which enabled him to debate, free of acrimony, with opponents.

His major literary work, *Criticism as Dialogue*, was published in 1988. Two of its key essays — "Christianity and the Common Pursuit" and "Criticism as Dialogue" — address respectively modern English criticism, especially the work of F R Leavis, in relation to the problem of literature and belief, and the importance of literary studies to Christian believers themselves.

But the nuclear issue remained a central concern. In 1980, he became a founder member of the Bradford University-based Alternative Defence Commission and made an invaluable contribution to its *Defence Without the Bomb* (1983) and *The Politics of Alternative Defence* (1987). During this period he also debated in the columns of the *Tablet* with fellow Catholic and senior Ministry of Defence civil servant Michael Quinlan, thought to have been mainly responsible for

the chapter on nuclear forces and strategy in the 1983 *Statement on the Defence Estimates*. Quinlan argued in a July 1981 *Tablet* article that deterrence was "an inexorable policy". Walter's reply, a month later, acknowledged the "special impressiveness" of Quinlan's contribution, but argued that it bypassed the crucial moral problem: there was no way in which nuclear deterrence could function except ultimately as a threat against civilian populations. A lengthy exchange of views resulted in a series of three articles by Walter in the *Tablet*, which are essential reading for anyone wishing to come to grips with the complexities of the moral and strategic issues involved.

In recent years, Walter had worked with a project which sprang directly from the work of the Alternative Defence Commission but which focussed specifically on the potential of non-violent action. Characteristically, while accepting that there is a role for nonviolent direct action in



Walter Stein... he rejected pacifism for the notion of a just war, the basis for his critique of nuclear weapons

democratic societies, he insisted on the need to define more precisely the circumstances in which defiance of the law is justified. Similarly, he saw "strategic non-violence" as potentially important in international politics but could not accept it as a universal panacea. Right up to within a few months of his death, he was helping to define the problems and set the agenda for further work in this field.

He is survived by his wife, Joyce, four grown-up children, and two grandchildren.

Michael Randall

Walter Stein, theologian and writer, born September 12, 1924, died August 18, 1996.

Charles Hadfield

# Navigating canal history

**C**HARLES HADFIELD, who has died aged 87, was certainly the world's greatest canal historian. Between 1945 and 1993, he wrote more than 20 books on Britain's canals, and edited several others.

His enduring monument will be the *Canals of the British Isles* series, conceived by him in 1965, and completed in 13 volumes in 1977. Hadfield wrote six, collaborated on two, and edited four. An essential academic reference, the series details the history of every canal and river navigation in the British Isles. And his *World Canals* is unequalled, in any language.

With David St John Thomas, he founded the publishers, David & Charles, which provided a vehicle for some of his and Thomas's work, and was also for two decades the leading publisher of new works on the infant subject of industrial archaeology. D&C additionally republished important out-of-print reference books.

Hadfield was born in South Africa but educated in England, at Blundell's School. He graduated from St Edmund's Hall, Oxford with an economics degree and became a second-hand bookseller, later joining the Oxford University Press, where he met Alice Mary Miller, whom he subsequently married. During the war he worked in the London Fire Brigade's river service.

His interest in canals was beginning to flourish, and his first canal book, with Frank Eyre, was *English Rivers & Canals*, published in 1945. While this was in press, L T C Rolt's *Narrow Boat* appeared, a seminal work which led directly to the formation of the Inland Waterways Association in 1946, with Rolt as a secretary and Hadfield as vice-chairman.

Early years saw great tensions in the IWA: Hadfield and Rolt were expelled, but went on to triumph elsewhere. Hadfield helped to found the Railway & Canal Historical Society in 1954, and David & Charles in 1960. He was also

invited to rejoin the IWA in 1971, and became a vice-president. He lived long enough to see the IWA into its 50th year.

Hadfield was always ready to learn from others, and to share his own knowledge, and he never used his learning to put others at a disadvantage. A much-deserved *festschrift* was published for his 75th birthday in 1984.

In 1946, he joined the Central Office of Information, and became its director of publications. While in office, he was responsible for the production of booklets for the Labour government's National Insurance and National Health Service schemes. Later promotion included mastering the arrangements for the British pavilion at the 1958 Brussels Exhibition, for which he was awarded the CMG in 1958. He took early retirement in 1962 to devote his time to David & Charles; books and their production were lifelong themes.

But he was also elected as one of London's youngest county councillors in 1954; editor of the *Quarterly Monthly Review* from 1963 to 1968; and a member of the British Waterways Board from 1968 to 1966. His devotion to Alice Mary led him to share her interests, including the work of Charles Williams. He was an excellent and far-sighted planner, and founded a number of societies which still thrive.

Besides canals, his writings included politics, the Cotswolds, fire-fighting, and atmospheric railways. Although not primarily a creative writer, he used the art of writing as a way of exploring the world. True to form, when Alice Mary died in 1989 after many years of fulfilling and devoted marriage, Charles set about recreating their life together by writing her biography, not for publication, but as a way of exploring and explaining his own feelings about his beloved and much-mourned wife.

Mark Baldwin

Ellis Charles Raymond Hadfield, writer and publisher, born August 5, 1908, died August 6, 1996.



Hadfield with wife Alice on the Thames/Severn canal

Roger Hume

# An Archers portrait

**I**T IS easy to conjure up my image of Roger Hume, who played Bert Fry in Radio 4's *The Archers*, and has died of a stroke aged 55. He was chunky, dressed casually in slacks, shirt and pullover, with open-toed sandals. His hair was starting to recede, and he had a nicely shaped mouth with clear large green-blue eyes. His expression was responsive, and his face was always ready to crack open with a broad, infectious grin. It was 17 years ago that Roger first appeared in the programme. His initial role was as John Tregorran, and he moved on to play Borchester's industrial magnate, Sir Sidney Goodman before creating the character of Bert Fry, Phil Archer's loyal farmhand, in 1988. Roger lovingly observed that rich country character, with his doggerel and brisk views on gardening. The result was that he was well on the way to producing a portrait as legendary as those of Jethro Larkin, Walter Gabriel or Tom Forrest.

But his acting career went far beyond *The Archers*. He made more than 200 other radio appearances, appeared in *Fawlty Towers*, *Poirot*, and *The Bill* on television and his film roles included one in *A Fish Called Wanda*. He had been a member of the Royal Shakespeare Company and also wrote one-man shows, touring his *Old Herbaceous* around the world — and put on a performance of it for the Queen. He also acted in, and produced plays for his local drama society and performed poetry recitals, many to raise money for charity.

Roger and I went back a long way, before I joined *The Archers* as Kathy Perks, to the start of my radio drama career 22 years ago. He couldn't drive at the time and as we lived near each other, I would give him lifts to the BBC's studios at Pebble Mill in Birmingham where we recorded the radio plays we

performed together. During those drives we discussed everything under the sun and put the world to rights. He enjoyed the company of women, and when he had to play the role of token male in the occasional feminist drama, he took no part in the feverish debate in the BBC Club, but would shake his head on the way home with a rueful grin: "You girls make it hard for a man to get a word in once you've started."

Roger was the son of George Hume, formerly the RSC's general manager in Stratford-upon-Avon. His stage career began in the early 1960s as assistant stage manager in the original West End production of Lionel

Bart's *Oliver*, and he gravitated to similar work on films like *Carry On Regardless* and the last Bing Crosby/*Bob Hope* road movie, *Road to The Moon*. And he moved into repertory as an actor.

He also became a lay preacher. Roger was a genuinely religious man. He didn't talk much about God but lived his beliefs, because it seemed to him to be a natural and civilised way to lead his life. People in trouble always turned to Roger, knowing that he had an attentive, non-judgemental ear. It was a characteristic he shared with his wife Anne.

He was a staunch supporter. I still treasure the letter he wrote to me when I finished a five-year stint as Equity deputy for *The Archers*' cast. And I found myself gently but firmly involved in his activities. I would be off to Bristol to make a video about the evils of alcoholism, back to his home in Shipston to judge a town criers' contest. Then there was the annual judging and reading out of the winning entries for the children's local poetry competition and unforgettable giggle sessions of the *Talking Newspaper* for the Blind. Twinkling, kindly, never petty, he wasn't just a good man. It was fun to be with him. He is survived by his wife, two sons, and his father.

*The Archers* is poorer for his going. We are richer for having known and loved him, and been loved by him.

Heddi Niklaus

Roger Hume, actor, born November 19, 1940; died August 24, 1996.



Roger Hume... roles ranged from the Archers to the RSC and Fawlty Towers

Roy Smith-Hill

# Early bites from the Bolsheviks

**T**HE CAREER of Roy Smith-Hill, who has died aged 55, was a triumph over an early disaster during the British intervention in the nascent Soviet Union after the first world war.

Born in Aspatria, Cumbria, where his father was head of the agricultural college, Smith-Hill was educated at nearby St Bees school. He served during the war with Marine detachments on battlefields and stayed on as a professional officer.

Thus he was assigned to the scratch 6th Battalion, Royal Marines Light Infantry, formed to help supervise the postwar plebiscite in Schleswig-Holstein on whether it would remain German or join Denmark. Never meant to fight, the unit consisted mostly of raw recruits and ex-prisoners-of-war. Smith-Hill and almost all other officers had no experience of land combat when the battalion went to northern Russia in summer 1919.

The Tsarist regime had collapsed under the strain of the war in 1917, releasing vast German forces for a last thrust on the Western Front in spring 1918. Britain and her allies put 200,000 troops into northern Russia to block a possible seizure of the Arctic ports and advance into Finland by the Germans.

But the likes of Georges Clemenceau, the French wartime leader, and Winston Churchill, then war secretary, wanted to put an end to Bolshevik "baboonery". Thus was the intervention force ordered to support the "Whites" in the civil war against the new Red Army, despite growing opposition in war-weary Britain. The "Reds" saw off all resistance and most British troops pulled out in summer 1919.

The 6th Battalion RMLI sailed to Murmansk to help

cover the withdrawal; its dangerous inexperience was soon exposed in clashes with highly motivated Bolshevik soldiers.

In a fight for a village, Smith-Hill's company suffered severe casualties and command devolved upon him. The demoralised Marines refused to renew the attack after a repulse and nearly 100 were court-martialled for mutiny (13 were sentenced to death). Nearly all the battalion's officers were punished. Smith-Hill was severely reprimanded, normally a professional death sentence.

But protests and parliamentary questions at home led to a review, the repeal of the death sentences and reduction or cancellation of other punishments, even though Smith-Hill's demand for a court-martial to clear his name was turned down. Behind the scenes, the Admiralty acknowledged that the battalion had been hopelessly ill-prepared for its task and was a disgrace to the Marines.

Roy Smith-Hill's subsequent career was not affected. He went back to the fleet, surviving another ill-considered intervention in Turkey in 1922. But it was in 1925, when he was seconded to the Army Staff College, that he came into his own — as a staff officer. He took part in the planning of the invasions of North Africa in 1942, Sicily in 1943 and Normandy in 1944. Smith-Hill was made CBE in 1946 for his staff work and commanded the Infantry Training Centre at Lympstone and the Royal Marine School of Music before he retired to farm in 1950.

He and his wife, Sybil, who died in 1974, had two sons and two daughters.

Dan van der Vat

Brigadier Roy Smith-Hill, Royal Marine, born May 5, 1897; died August 4, 1996.

Letters

Morryn Berry writes: I once arranged for the physicist Sir Nevill Martin, August 12 — an advocate of no first use of nuclear weapons — to attend the Sevnoaks Peace Forum. His talk was, frankly, stilted and disappointing. He then demanded questions.

For the next 90 minutes he strode about — occasionally tripping over chairs — arguing, cajoling, striking sparks off a willing audience, fluent, careful in listening and quick to respond.

Back at our house, over cocoa and biscuits, I managed, sometime after midnight, to direct him to the stairs. Halfway up, he stropped. "Oh, I forgot to mention it," he said, "I have to go to a conference, tomorrow. Could you get me to the station by seven?"

When I took him tea at six, Nevill was sitting up with someone's PhD thesis on his knees and a pen in his hand.

"The argument's sound enough," he said, "but why on earth can't people write decent English these days?"

In his last letter to us, he wrote: "In physics I have acquired a Russian colleague and together we have written two books on high Tc superconductivity; differing completely from Phil Anderson and most of the Americans.

Keeps me alive! Also I remain very interested in (the relationship between) science and theology. What a brain. And what a marvelous man.

Val Carpenter writes: In 1981 I invited Rabbi Hugo Gryn (*obituary*, August 20) to become a sponsor of the National Coalition Building Institute, which builds

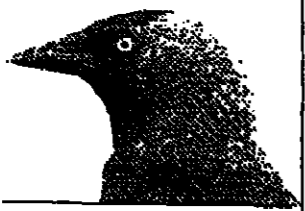
bridges against prejudice. As an atheist and non-Jew I had no idea what to expect. It was love at first sight. This lovely genial, bubbly man exuded warmth, generosity and humour. His questioning of me and my organisation was thoughtful, insightful and rigorous. It was the tone for every exchange. I was fortunate to have with him.

When you remind your partner how great he or she is, the best words are always your own words. These phrases might inspire you. "I have told you lately that I really love living with you." "My favorite time of day is when we wake up in the morning and you cuddle me a while before we get up. That's very special to me."

Build your partner up, and you will be built up too. That is, you remember how lucky you are to have your partner. "I know things are rough at work right now. I want you to know I appreciate it that you keep at it, day after day, even when you don't want to, because of your commitment to taking care of our family. I want you to know that I know how much you really love me."

The best way to continue creating love in your relationship is to continue expressing love in your relationship. Some expressions of creative flirting don't rely on speech. Whether you're a whiz at words or sometimes at a loss, don't overlook the tremendous power of flirting by

Jackdaw



A high result

THE NATIONAL Institute of Health released the results of a controversial new study today, one that links the drug marijuana to sitting around and getting high.

"We have found that where there's marijuana," explained Institute spokesperson Roger Krell, "there's also a good chance of finding stoners on a couch passing around a bong." Krell added that in such situations, "There is also a strong likelihood of finding incense, a TV, and some chips, usually Ruffles." Marijuana, or "pot", as it is called on the street, is a harmless drug that helps you relax and feel mellow. Its only

known side-effects are occasional uncontrollable laughter and mild hunger, or "the munchies." Not everyone agrees with the survey's findings. "Getting high is the least of marijuana's uses," said Matt Henner, President of Hemp For Victory and a total pot-head. "The ancient Egyptians used hemp to build the pyramids. In the 1930s, the WPA used it to construct bridges and dams. Today it is used for medicine and as a non-polluting alternative to gasoline."

Henner then admitted he was "wasted beyond belief." Marijuana also has been proven to have the wonderful side-effect of enhanced sexual sensations, enabling some users to achieve transcendental states of erotic bliss. The study found that this link, however, was severely limited in many subjects because they had, due to sitting around all the time, never actually met members of the opposite sex. "But if they did," said Krell, "then it'd be amazing." So far, the study has met with formal protest by only one group. The Alabama-based Centre for the Christian Family, claimed the findings

to be terribly inaccurate, noting marijuana's ability to "make users think they can fly and jump out of buildings, like on Quincy, as well as its tendency to induce demon possession, homicidal rampages, and homosexuality."

First marijuana is linked to chocolate and now to getting high. Reported in the *Onion*, at [www.theonion.com/onion30001/w/tea3001/marijuana.html](http://www.theonion.com/onion30001/w/tea3001/marijuana.html).

Wines S's & P's

Sight: Hold the glass up and consider the colour. Red wines, for example, don't look the same. Pinot Noir can be a soft shade of strawberry, while zinfandel is often as dense as blackberry jam.

Swirl: There's a good reason wineries pour only a small amount — aside from the fear of going broke. You can't swirl a full glass without making a mess. Lightly swirl the glass for a moment and you'll be surprised how the wine changes. When infused with air, wine releases its aroma.

Sniff: Take a whiff. Your nose is a key player in the wine-

tasting. First, ask yourself if the aroma is pleasant or not? Some wines have very subtle bouquets, while others will rush your nostrils like lightning bolts. One is not necessarily better than the other. Wines have characteristic smells. Sauvignon Blanc, for example, may smell like freshly mown grass. Sip: Don't take a big gulp. Swirl it around your mouth, adding more air and exposing all your taste buds. Is it sweet or dry? Bitter or sour? A cabernet sauvignon, for example, might make you pucker. Those are the tannins, which help the wine age. Try to sort out the sensations on your tongue. Charmony may have an almost buttery taste and pinot noir may taste lightly of cherry, with a lingering sensation.

Pour: We couldn't think of another S-word. Expert tasters always spit — if they didn't, they'd be passed out on the floor. You don't need to do that, but we would encourage you to only take a sip or two and then pour out the rest. Tasting rooms don't mind at all; in fact, they provide special

buckets for this purpose. Improve your wine knowledge at [www.winery.com/winery-bin/](http://www.winery.com/winery-bin/).

Big boosters

1. SEEK out successful people and learn from them.
2. If you have a particularly difficult phone call to make, stand up to do it.
3. Learning to relax and get in touch with your inner self will help boost your self-knowledge and confidence.
4. Harness your smile to improve personal relationships and get what you want from others.
5. Lack of confidence as adults can often be traced back to messages we were given when we were children. If you were always told, "You're really stupid," turn it around and tell your adult self, "I'm intelligent."

New Woman gives some confidence tricks for those who are lacking.

Flirty tips

GIVE your partner the gift of a genuine compliment every

day. It will serve to remind both of you that you are in this relationship by choice. When you compliment your lover, you identify what it is you love about your lover. Name those qualities to yourself. Acknowledge the kind of person your husband, wife, or lover is, and what the relationship means to you. When your partner tells you about his or her accomplishments, applaud them. Don't compete or



Birthdays

Canon Peter Atkinson, former principal, Chichester Theological College, 44; E W 'Bunny' Austin, former tennis player, 80; Dr Raphael Baloon, cardiologist, 60; The Duke of Gloucester, architect, 52; Rt Rev Alan Chesters, Bishop of Blackburn, 59; Joan Clanchy, educationalist, 57; Michael Cockerell, television reporter, 56; Richard Dales, former High Commissioner to Zimbabwe, 54; Geraldine Ferraro, former US vice-presidential candidate, 61; Peter Fowler, retiring High Commissioner to Bangladesh, 60; Sir Ian McGregor, authority on tropical medicine, 74; Malcolm Pyrah, show jumper, 55; Graham Riddick, Conser-

Birthdays

ervative MP, 41; Alison Steadman, actress, 50; Dennis Turner, Labour MP, 54; Gen Sir Harry Tuzo, former Deputy Supreme Allied Commander, Europe, 79; Steve Wright, disc jockey, 42.

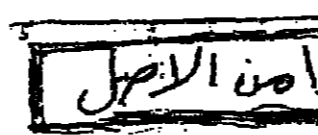
Anniversaries

PAULA Happy 1st anniversary. Put it to place your announcement telephone 0171 712 4267 Fax 0171 712 4123.

Jackdaw wants jewels

Jackdaw wants jewels. E-mail [jackdaw@guardian.co.uk](mailto:jackdaw@guardian.co.uk); fax 0171 713 4366; Jackdaw, The Guardian, 119 Farringdon Road, London EC1R 3ER.

Emily Sheffield



# Right's cynical rhetoric would have been dismissed as dangerous hokum 30 years ago Turning back the welfare clock



Larry Elliott

ONE of the things we have had to learn over the past 17 years is that nothing is ever the Government's fault. The Arabs and the unions were to blame for the first Thatcher recession. The Germans and George Soros were responsible for Black Wednesday. The Labour Party caused the BSE scare. Anybody but Michael Howard carries the can when another jallbird escapes from prison.

Indeed, a student of Conservative rule might be interested in working up a thesis on how an administration that extols the virtues of individual responsibility has proved pathologically incapable of saying: "Yes, we got it wrong. Sorry".

The latest example of this tendency — although it has been evident throughout the Tories' four terms — is to blame Britain's economic underperformance on the poor. Even when measured by the right's own debased coinage, this is a monumental piece of cynicism.

Put simply, the thesis is this: the generosity of the Welfare State has nurtured a culture in which the poor

have little incentive to work, and so we have armies of work-shy delinquents, benefit scroungers and single mothers putting an intolerable burden on ordinary taxpayers.

The result is that Britain has to pay higher taxes than the dynamic economies of South-east Asia, where welfare provision is minimal and growth rates much higher. So all we have to do is cut benefits, prod the poor out of their self-imposed ghetto and, bingo, growth rates will soar. This will be good, not just for those of us who pay taxes but for the poor themselves. Any resistance to this scheme on the part of those dependent on benefits would be an act of grotesque selfishness.

Thirty years ago, politicians would have dismissed this as dangerous hokum, arguing that welfare bills were linked to broad macro-economic conditions, i.e. the chances of the less-fortunate finding a job, and the distribution of income between rich and poor. Back in the early 60s, when unemployment was well under 500,000, social security transfers amounted to around 6 per cent of GDP. By the time the jobless total peaked in the recession of the early 1980s they accounted for more than 12 per cent of GDP.

In addition, it would have been pointed out that benefits have become less, not more, generous under the Conservatives. To suggest that people would rather live on benefits, which are bound to fall in value, rather than take a job which might lead to higher real rewards is to deny that we are the rational economic

agents the new right insists we are.

But these are now deeply unfashionable notions. It is far more convenient to assert that if the poor are either too stupid or too lazy to find a job, that's their problem.

Once, the poor could rely on the parties of the left to defend them. No longer. Across the political spectrum the stick has replaced the carrot, as Bill Clinton proved in the US last week when he turned the clock back more than 60 years and removed the New Deal safety net.

Clinton's fear was that he would be branded as "soft" on welfare by Bob Dole, thereby pushing the swing voters —

and what evidence there is that high spending on welfare has a deleterious impact on economic performance.

The first question could easily have been answered by the social reformers of the 19th Century. By today's standards, they would scarcely be called bleeding-heart liberals — yet they realised that disease, malnutrition, poor sanitation, illiteracy and slums were having a damaging effect on industrial efficiency and productivity. The final flowering of this idea came after the second world war, when Beveridge's social security system was seen as being inextricably bound up with Keynes's ideas for full em-

ployment. The West now appears to be suffering from a form of collective, historical amnesia.

The second point — that there is an inverse relationship between welfare spending and growth — is now accepted as a truism. Like other such truisms, it deserves careful scrutiny.

In absolute terms, it is entirely groundless. Even at the height of its mid-Victorian splendour, Britain's growth rate was 1.2 per cent per annum, compared to an average of 3 per cent a year during the Golden Age of Welfareism in the 50s and 60s.

Only by looking at Britain's growth rates relative to other countries can the argument be made that burgeoning

social security costs are acting as a brake on expansion and prosperity. Even so, the evidence is less than conclusive, as an article by Tony Atkinson in the latest edition of *New Economy* shows.

According to OECD data, the Netherlands spends around 14 per cent of its GDP on social security — more than the US — and if the welfare slashers are right this should be reflected in a much higher trend rate of growth in the US. But growth rates in the two countries over the last complete economic cycle (1982-91) were almost identical — 2.9 per cent in the US against 2.7 per cent in the Netherlands.

While accepting that pay-as-you-go pensions may reduce the rate of savings, and hence capital accumulation and growth, Atkinson says that targeting pensions for the needy may lead to a savings trap, in which people who have an incentive to disinvest in order to qualify for the state safety net.

In the end, it has been the rapid growth of the Asian tigers that has given impetus to the attack on welfare. But these are catch-up economies in the way that Japan was in the 50s and 60s. Their growth rates will moderate as they reach maturity, just as Japan's did. Slower rates of growth will automatically add to the pressure for increased welfare spending. If in the future this pressure is less strong than in the UK, that will be because East Asia is increasing government spending on education now, recognising that such spending adds to the productive capacity of a modern knowledge-driven economy.

Little of this, however, will be said by those intent on ensuring "the end of the Welfare State as we know it" — because the real point is not to help the poor, but to help themselves.

Bob Solow, the US economist, put it neatly when he said that the failure to help the poor is a "world-class puzzle" because "those who are so urgent about not inflicting poverty on the future have to explain why they do not attach even higher priority to reducing poverty today."

In other words, they say that sacrifices may have to be made to help the poor. But not today. And certainly not by us.

## It is the rapid growth of the Asian tigers that has given impetus to the attack on the social safety net

the so-called Reagan Democrats — back into the arms of the Republicans. The president has read Galbraith's *Culture of Contentment*; he knows there are two Americas out there, an affluent majority that votes and an impoverished (yet sizeable) minority that doesn't.

In Britain, we are also being schooled up for the "end of welfare as we know it". The language of political discourse has already subtly changed, so that even supposedly unbiased reports on radio and TV talk not of the Welfare State but of the Welfare State "burden".

Before going further, it might be worth asking what originally motivated the pioneers of welfare provision

and Borrell's claim that consumers pay over £13 for every \$1 benefit to the growers is based on highly selective statistics, factually wrong and a flawed economic model.

Replacing the regime with a free market, subject only to tariff, and offering direct aid to the Caribbean banana producing countries would leave the Caribbean banana industry at the mercy of the big multinationals, like Chiquita.

All past experience suggests that Caribbean producers would be quickly driven out of the market. The Caribbean would soon cease to be a banana producer.

This outcome would be disastrous enough for the Car-

ibbean even if there was a realistic prospect of other products filling the gap left by a collapsed banana industry. In reality there is no such prospect.

Bananas are the only year-round crop which can be viable cultivated there to produce a regular weekly income to small farmers. It is the only one which can produce again within months of damage or destruction by storm, floods or hurricanes, which are perennial Caribbean hazards.

Great efforts are nonetheless being made to develop alternative sources of income, but this is only possible gradually. And, crucially, these alternatives must be developed alongside bananas, because they alone can produce the volumes necessary to justify the weekly shipping service which is a prerequisite for a viable export trade in any other Caribbean product.

All these issues are well understood by the US State Department.

As a senior official admitted earlier in the year: "You don't want to hurt the banana trade or the tourist industry. It destabilises governments, it destroys jobs, it promotes the drug trade, it increases militant behaviour, it causes a world-class headache for the United States". We agree.

We are therefore appalled at the continuing attempts by the US to use WTO mechanisms to destroy an industry which accounts for only 3 per cent of world trade in bananas but which is vital for the political and economic stability of the Caribbean. They should withdraw before they do irreparable damage to small developing countries on their own doorstep.

Gordon Myers is European Representative of the Caribbean Banana Exporters' Association.

# Banana plan threatens to crush Caribbean trade

The Borrell proposals, reviewed in Briefing last week, could ruin developing countries which benefit from the present EU tariff regime, writes **Gordon Myers**

EARLY next month, the World Trade Organisation is expected to begin hearings against the EU banana regime on a complaint instituted by the US, supported by four Latin American countries.

The US, which does not export a single banana, is bringing the complaint of the highest of Chiquita, one of the world's largest banana producing companies.

Cincinnati-based Chiquita produces dollar bananas in a number of Latin American countries. In the States its chairman has made sizeable contributions to political campaigns, including much help to Bob Dole, the Republi-

can presidential candidate.

Chiquita has also been associated with the work of academic Brent Borrell, whose latest report on the EU banana market was reviewed by Sarah Ryle in the *Guardian* (Briefing, 19 August).

It seemed to coincide with the WTO hearings the Borrell report argues that the EU banana regime is hugely expensive, wasteful and should be scrapped. Instead, he argues that the developing countries which benefit from the regime should receive a direct aid subsidy.

Both analysis and prescription are fatally flawed. If the Borrell proposals were imple-

## EU regime has delivered benefits to the most vulnerable growers

mented they would bring ruin to the small, developing countries in the Caribbean, who depend on bananas for up to 60 per cent of their export earnings.

This is because the EU banana regime is designed to enable Caribbean producers to make a living from growing bananas despite their higher costs, which arise from natural handicaps of steep terrain, limited size,

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# Unions flex political muscle in America

While Tony Blair keeps organised labour at arm's length, President Clinton woos the workers, writes **Jo-Ann Mort**

WHEN the Democrats open their Convention today in Chicago, they will be riding high on the success of a new minimum wage law which President Clinton signed last week at the White House, surrounded by a sea of trade union leaders.

It may appear that raising the US federal minimum wage by 90 cents an hour at a time when Republicans control both houses of the Congress was something of a miracle, but it wasn't God who brought forth this victory. It was Democratic Party politics played by elements who some in the Democratic hierarchy would like to see banished.

There has been a low-grade war raging for the soul of the Democratic Party, as the search continues for the "New Democrat." Hitherto, the trade union movement was seen as part of the problem, not the solution. The New Democrats, under the guise of the centrist-right leaning Democratic Leadership Council, were willing — even anxious — to dismiss organised labour and shun the working class, seeking the suburban vote. Yet, even though the Democratic Leadership Council's new policy paper states that "organised labour's clout follows its dwindling membership," most analysts have commented on organised labour's rebirth as the unions flex their political muscle.

When a new and more militant leadership took over the blue-collar union federation AFL-CIO last October, part of their plan was to strengthen the unions' organising and bargaining power by creating a friendlier political environment for workers. The minimum wage rise is the first substantial victory of this new strategy. Without the unions and the legislation's prime mover, Senator Ted Kennedy — the old lion of liberalism — this wouldn't have happened. Kennedy's persistence and legislative skill gave Bill Clinton his most strategically useful summer victory by breaching the spine of the Republicans' pro-business agenda. (It is as if Clarence Short had delivered Tony Blair's victory.)

Ever since President Clinton keeps moving to capture all available space on the centre-right, on other issues like welfare, he is solid with the progressives. The force of old-fashioned populism has split the Democratic Party, their most critical victory as the Democratic Convention begins. It was also an achievement for US Labour Secretary Robert Reich, the most liberal Cabinet Secretary in the Clinton Administration. Reich, whose stance early in the Administration appeared to be a sort of *laissez-faire* approach to unions, increasingly has become an outspoken union advocate. Reich, a genuine socialist, thought he could tame corporate barons through persuasion alone, but he learned the hard way that power still yields nothing without a struggle, even when dealing with so-called enlightened capitalists.

The unions are mounting the most impressive election activity in recent memory. However, if the AFL-CIO were only geared up to re-elect Bill Clinton and to dislodge the

Republican majority from Congress, all its efforts would be in vain. That's why the US trade unions are running this year's election efforts under the banner, "Building to Win, Building to Last". This union effort is set to elect union-friendly politicians, but even more important — to use the election season to rebuild union muscle.

Only about a quarter of the delegates at the Democratic Convention are union members, a convention where no floor or platform fights are expected anyway. But that number alone means little compared to what unions are doing among their grassroots to mobilise their members around a worker-friendly agenda for economic change which may or may not be synonymous with the Democratic message.

The minimum wage fight is the first real success of a broader AFL-CIO campaign, "America Needs a Raise," which is tapping into the economic insecurity felt by millions of Americans. To win on the minimum wage issue, the

## Hundreds of millions of workers in heavy industry and the public sector fear for their jobs

AFL-CIO mounted an unprecedented TV commercial campaign, targeting key Republican voters by portraying specific politicians as mean-spirited supporters of a corporate agenda.

At a time when growth in the economy appears to be on President Clinton's side, the AFL-CIO campaign is still gathering momentum. So are expectations that future generations will have it better than their parents. Also, while jobs are being created, the shift from jobs in the industrial sector to service and high-tech is leaving millions of middle-age workers in precarious states, as manufacturing jobs keep disappearing. Add to that the new pressure to privatise and cut jobs in the public sector, and you have hundreds of millions of scared workers. Even suburban Republicans are pushing them, especially when they consider their children's prospects.

That is why the AFL-CIO independent issues campaign is resonating among voters. Its success has put the Democrats back in with a chance to regain control of the Congress. Perhaps that's why President Clinton, as poll-conscious as any living politician, has so readily embraced organised labour's push to push the plank. Clinton did not let the opposition from the business community dissuade him on this issue.

It is ironic that Clinton is embracing the unions just as Tony Blair is pushing them away. It may be that the US unions, once the weakest among the world's industrialised nations, are showing the way for other embattled union movements.

Jo-Ann Mort is a vice-chair of Democratic Socialists of America.

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## Indicators

|   |   |
|---|---|
| TODAY — UK: Public Holiday.               | THURSDAY — US: Gross Domestic Product (Q2). |
| GER: Inflation (Aug).                     | US: New Home Sales (July).                  |
| US: Producer Prices (July).               | FRIDAY — UK: Consumer Credit (July).        |
| US: Existing Home Sales (July).           | US: M4 (Final: July).                       |
| TOMORROW — US: Consumer Confidence (Aug). | UK: M4 Lending (Final: July).               |
| WEDNESDAY — UK: Wholesale Trade (June).   | US: Chicago PMI (Aug).                      |
| UK: Non-EU Trade (July).                  | Source: HSBC Greenleaf.                     |

## Tourist rates

|                |                 |                    |                   |
|----------------|-----------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| Australia 1.90 | France 7.62     | Italy 2.306        | Singapore 2.1370  |
| Austria 15.77  | Germany 2.2425  | Malta 0.5370       | South Africa 8.84 |
| Belgium 48.15  | Greece 360.50   | Netherlands 2.5175 | Spain 189.00      |
| Canada 2.15    | Hong Kong 11.58 | New Zealand 2.16   | Sweden 10.10      |
| Cyprus 0.850   | India 55.12     | Norway 9.75        | Switzerland 1.21  |
| Denmark 8.70   | Ireland 0.8350  | Portugal 251.00    | Turkey 125.250    |
| Finland 8.58   | Israel 4.88     | Saudi Arabia 5.78  | USA 1.5160        |

Supplied by Halifax Bank (excluding Indian rupee and Israeli sheqel) as at close of business on Friday.

## Worm's eye Dan Atkinson

THERE are fans of the late-night shipping forecast, many, many of them, for whom bedtime with-out Rockall, Viking and the late-lamented Goerece Light Tower Automatic Weather Station. A smaller band of us find similar solace in the italicised announcements

in business diaries; just as with the shipping news they carry that mixture of importance, obscurity and reassurance.

You know the sort of thing: *Candlemas* (Scottish Term Day), *Full Moon September*, *Waiting Day*, *New Zealand (Holiday)*, *New Moon*, *Pentecost 5*, *Michaelmas Low*, *Sittings begin*. Gives a shape to the year, doesn't it? Reassures us that each passing day actually means something.

Well, enjoy it while you can. At the fag-end of every

decaying régime there is always a dull idea or two floating around, the distinguishing features of which are (a) that the public would hate them were they put into effect but despite this, (b) the dull idea, like a bad cold, can never quite be shaken off by those in power.

Last time round, 1977/78, the suggestion that soldiers should be allowed to join trade unions was a prize example, as with a current equivalent, Post Office privatisation, it was never ac-

tually policy but neither was it ever knocked on the head.

Now, gathering the strength to become full-blown Dull Idea, is the concept of "portable" bank holidays or, better still, no bank holidays at all. The same gaggle of goggle-eyed freaks who gave you the poll tax and the pensions fiasco are itching to turn all 365 days of the year into a free-free zone for the market economy.

As with the modern villain, they've got all the jar-

gon. Just as he can drone on about "dysfunctional family dynamics", so the think-tankers present the case for all-year working as a long-overdue reform of those patronising, Victorian institutions, bank holidays, whose religious origins are deeply "inappropriate" (an absolutely key word in today's go-for-it competitive economy).

Just as the psycho-babbling convict wouldn't dream of blurring out the real motivation behind his offences (that he is a greedy,

bone-idle anti-social piece of work), so the think-tankers and their corporate sponsors are pushing them rather than state unequivocally that their campaign against bank holidays is motivated not by some altruistic desire to protect minority groups, but by the simple fact that they dislike having to switch off their expensive machinery for three or four days at a time and detest the idea of paying staff double time.

A happy August Bank Holiday to you all. For now.

grant tra  
lfare act

Racing

Dettoni and Carson banned four days

Chris Hawkins on the British challenge that fell flat in the Deauville stewards' room

FRANKIE DETTORI and Willie Carson were both banned for four days by the Deauville stewards yesterday after a dramatic finish to the Prix de la Nonette. Birt Salsabil (Carson) and Birt Shadayid (Dettori) had battled out the finish of the Group Three fillies' prize, with Carson's mount getting home by a neck.

Mark Of Esteem boosts Guineas form with Celebration victory

MARK OF ESTEEM was the star of the show at Goodwood on Saturday when he simply oozed class in the Epsom Celebration Mile. This elegant, little colt was right back to the form which won him the 2,000 Guineas and finally settled the argument about whether the watering of the track at Newmarket, where it was thought he might have run on faster ground, had unduly influenced the result of the Classic - he beat Alhaarth by four and a quarter lengths on Saturday compared to six in the Guineas.

official six lengths from Fernando, but was allowed to coast home by Duffield and was value for at least double that distance.

Not surprisingly, the filly, by Polar Falcon, the same sire as Pivotal, had her odds slashed for the 1,000 Guineas and David Hood's Hill's cut out from 25-1 to 10-1. Duffield, trained by Michael Stoute, remains the solid favourite at 7-2.

Prescott has no doubts that Red Camilla, a lengthy, rather unfurnished filly, will stay a mile and is looking at the odds over that distance next - either the May Hill Stakes at Doncaster or the Ascot Filly Mile.

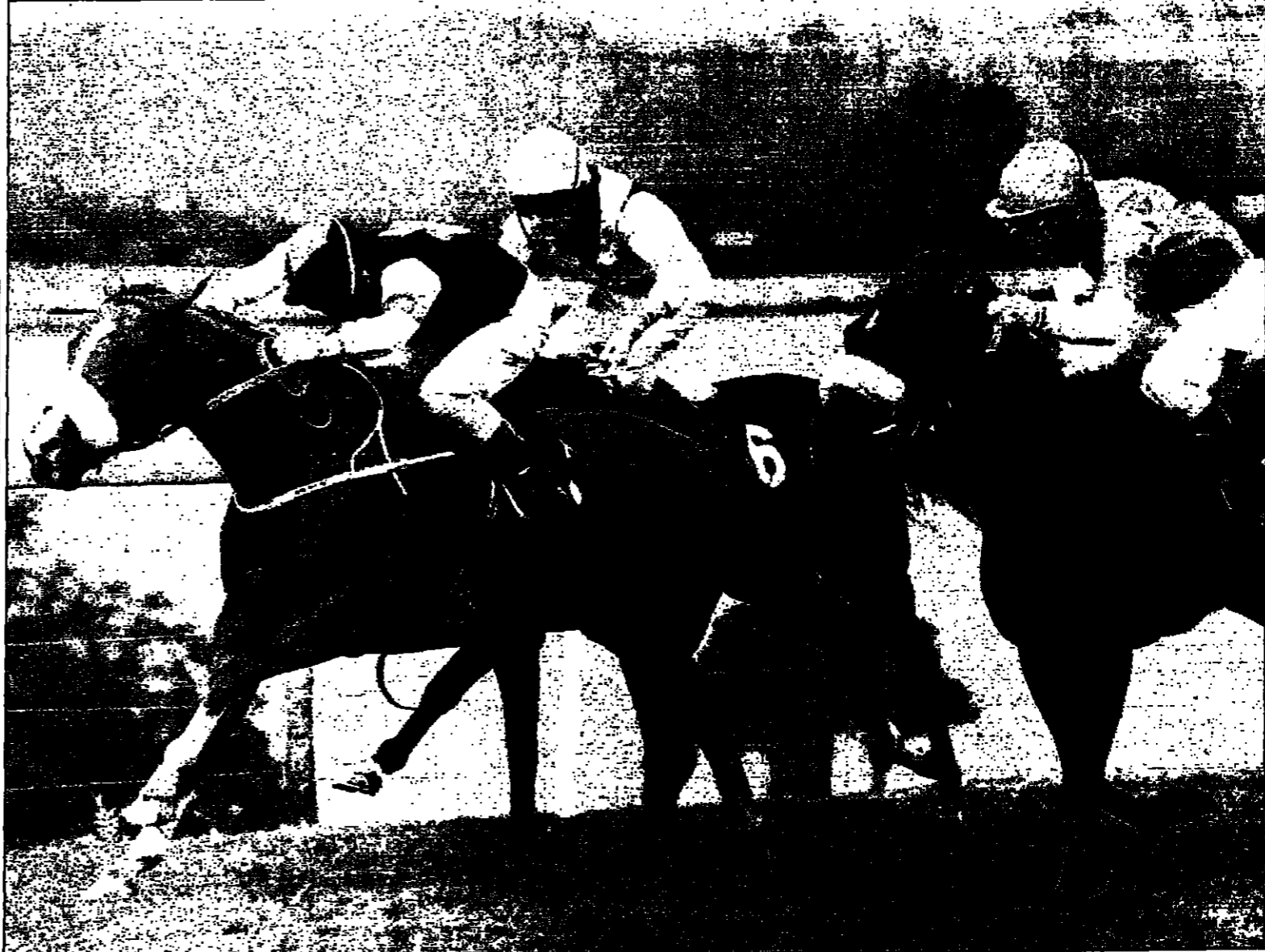
"She should stay a mile as her dam, although a winner over five furlongs, is half sister to Ibn Bey and Roseate Tern," said Prescott, who typically started off Red Camilla in an undemanding little race at Carlisle.

"I feel like I'm on another planet, I'm a non-drinker, but I feel drunk with elation and imagine this is how it must feel after an all-night bender at the Clonmel coursing festival."

Prescott said that Pivotal, who gave him a first Group One win in last week's Prix de Stakes, is likely to have only one more run this season, probably in the Prix de l'Abbaye, after which a decision will be made whether he stays in training next year.

The outcome should really depend on whether the French, from the stands' side, year-old, is retired, if he takes up stud duties the way will be clear for Pivotal to dominate the European sprint picture.

Back to next season's possible Classic contenders, and Fieet River, trained by Henry Cecil, entered calculations with an impressive impressive debut at Goodwood on Saturday.



Sky's the limit... Matthew Henry powers home on Sky Dome in the Mail On Sunday Mile Handicap at Goodwood yesterday

Proton looks ready to sparkle again

REG AKEHURST saddled Proton to win the Moot & Chandon Silver Magnan Handicap (the amateur's Derby) at Epsom last year and has a great chance of repeating the performance this afternoon, writes Chris Hawkins.

Proton, to be ridden by last year's winning jockey Tim McCarthy, has dropped in the weights after four unsuccessful efforts this season and meets Casual Water, whom he beat by half a length in this last year, on 14th better terms. Although Proton has not attracted the judge's eye, he ran as if coming back to form when a close fifth to Better Off at Ascot last month.

first run in 1963 only two horses, No Bombs and Silver Owl, have won it in successive years, but this does not put me off Proton (3.25) who looks to have been primed especially.

The card starts with the Tadworth Nursery in which Michael Stoute has booked the promising apprentice Matthew Henry for Colombia (2.40).

This filly ran third to Compton Place at Salisbury at the beginning of the month, and the form looks useful in view of the winner's subsequent blistering effort when second to Abu Zouh in the Gimcrack Stakes.

Midnight Spell (2.50) likes a sharp track and could pro-

vide Henry with a double in the Indegenous Handicap. This four-year-old filly is in form, and clocked a decent time at Bath recently. She has won at Brighton, which is the next best thing to being an Epsom course winner.

Colombia can win the opener it will be a pointer to Polish Warrior (3.55) in the Ladies Maiden Stakes. This Peter Chapple-Ryan trained two-year-old was caught inside the final furlong at Salisbury last time, having finished two and a half lengths behind Colombia on his debut.

There is some competitive racing at Newcastle where the programme begins with the Exhibition A/E Blyden-

cap. Plenty have a chance here with Henry Cecil's Divine Quest likely to start favourite, but I prefer Fame Again (2.05) as an each-way proposition.

The Lynda Ramsden-trained filly has disappointed twice since being short-headed at Newmarket last month, but that indicated she has a race in her and this season's form looks ideal.

Harbour Island (2.35) travels up from Newmarket for the Newcastle Sporting Club Handicap and, with the Stoute stable in form, can be fancied to improve on an unplaced effort behind Corradini at York in June.

There are 30 runners for the Exhibition A/E Blyden-

Race Nursery and Demolition Man (3.05) will be a popular selection after being caught on the line at York last week. He meets his conqueror, Pension Fund, again, but has a 5lb pull now and this should enable him to take his revenge.

At Ripon punters can start well with Unknown Territory (2.10) while Mollified (2.40) may make Walter Swinburn's journey worthwhile.

In the Ripon Rowels Handicap Bolin Frank (3.10) looks reasonably treated with 8st. He came back after a five weeks lay-off to be third to Ninia on the track nine days ago, and that should have brought him to the boil.

Epsom card with form for TV races

Table with 2 columns: Race Name and Details. Includes 2.20 Cotswolds, 2.40 Maiden Speed, 3.25 PROTON (fav), 4.25 BOTTLENECK ROYALS NORTH SOUTH CHALLENGE SERIES HCP 2YO 1m 1/4, 4.55 Puffin Warrior, 4.55 Rebel Country, 4.55 Silky Bay, 4.55 Grand Mission.

Channel 4

Table with 2 columns: Race Name and Details. Includes 2.20 TADWORTH NURSERY HANDICAP 2Y F 12 CLAS, 1.51 NORTHERN STAR (2) M 12-1, 2.12 COLUMBIA (2) M 12-1, 3.12 WEST GAY (1) M 12-1, 4.52 RIVEN OF FORTUNE (2) M 12-1, 5.50S RED GARTER (2) M 12-1, 6.50S RICHARD ROCKEY (2) M 12-1, 7.50S SMALL WIND (2) M 12-1.

Channel 4

Table with 2 columns: Race Name and Details. Includes 2.50 NEWCASTLE EXHIBITION ALB MAYDAY HANDICAP 2YO 1m 23.00, 1.50S TRENCHARD (2) M 12-1, 2.10S SALLY (2) M 12-1, 3.10S YOUNG DAWG (2) M 12-1, 4.10S SALLY (2) M 12-1, 5.10S YOUNG DAWG (2) M 12-1, 6.10S YOUNG DAWG (2) M 12-1, 7.10S YOUNG DAWG (2) M 12-1.

Channel 4

Table with 2 columns: Race Name and Details. Includes 3.25 MOTT & CHANDON SILVER MAGNAN HANDICAP (summers) 1m 41.00, 1.15S PERLIN BELTA (2) M 12-1, 2.15S SHERIDAN (2) M 12-1, 3.15S LORI (2) M 12-1, 4.15S AARABAN STORY (2) M 12-1, 5.15S CASUAL WATER (2) M 12-1, 6.15S CONTINENTAL (2) M 12-1, 7.15S EARLY PRIZE (2) M 12-1, 8.15S PROTON (2) M 12-1, 9.15S LORD HARVEY (2) M 12-1, 10.15S ARTHUR HAY (2) M 12-1, 11.15S FERRY HORNET (2) M 12-1, 12.15S MAREK (2) M 12-1, 13.15S COURAGE (2) M 12-1.

Channel 4

Table with 2 columns: Race Name and Details. Includes 3.55 LADIES HANDBICAP 2YO 1m 23.00, 1.50S BOLD (2) M 12-1, 2.50S HIPPUS (2) M 12-1, 3.50S MAREK (2) M 12-1, 4.50S POLARIS (2) M 12-1, 5.50S RIGHT MAN (2) M 12-1, 6.50S TOMBA (2) M 12-1, 7.50S KAYEN (2) M 12-1.

Ripon

Table with 2 columns: Race Name and Details. Includes 3.10 Unknown Territory, 3.45 October City, 3.40 Maiden Speed, 4.15 Rebel Country, 3.10 Maiden Speed, 4.15 Rebel Country, 4.15 Rebel Country.

Channel 4

Table with 2 columns: Race Name and Details. Includes 2.10 GLASSBORO BELTING STAKES 2YO 1m 41.00, 1.40S FEARLESS CAVALIER (2) M 12-1, 2.40S JUDITHA (2) M 12-1, 3.40S YOUNG TROOPER (2) M 12-1, 4.40S GARTY TROT (2) M 12-1, 5.40S LITTON (2) M 12-1, 6.40S BRYN HENRY (2) M 12-1, 7.40S MALVA (2) M 12-1, 8.40S PRINCE OF CASTLE (2) M 12-1, 9.40S SKEWY TRIP (2) M 12-1, 10.40S WHAT'S THAT AMY M BYRON (2) M 12-1.

Channel 4

Table with 2 columns: Race Name and Details. Includes 2.40 GRASSBORO HANDBICAP 2YO 1m 41.00, 1.40S BRYN HENRY (2) M 12-1, 2.40S GYRF AID TALE (2) M 12-1, 3.40S MOUNT PLEASANT (2) M 12-1, 4.40S BELLYBUSH (2) M 12-1, 5.40S BUCKLE UP (2) M 12-1.

Channel 4

Table with 2 columns: Race Name and Details. Includes 3.10 RIPON BOVINE HANDICAP 1m 41.00, 1.50S BRYN HENRY (2) M 12-1, 2.50S MOUNT PLEASANT (2) M 12-1, 3.50S BELLYBUSH (2) M 12-1, 4.50S BUCKLE UP (2) M 12-1, 5.50S BUCKLE UP (2) M 12-1, 6.50S BUCKLE UP (2) M 12-1, 7.50S BUCKLE UP (2) M 12-1, 8.50S BUCKLE UP (2) M 12-1, 9.50S BUCKLE UP (2) M 12-1, 10.50S BUCKLE UP (2) M 12-1.

Channel 4

Table with 2 columns: Race Name and Details. Includes 3.45 NEWCASTLE EXHIBITION 2Y F 12 CLAS, 1.15S PERLIN BELTA (2) M 12-1, 2.15S SHERIDAN (2) M 12-1, 3.15S LORI (2) M 12-1, 4.15S AARABAN STORY (2) M 12-1, 5.15S CASUAL WATER (2) M 12-1, 6.15S CONTINENTAL (2) M 12-1, 7.15S EARLY PRIZE (2) M 12-1, 8.15S PROTON (2) M 12-1, 9.15S LORD HARVEY (2) M 12-1, 10.15S ARTHUR HAY (2) M 12-1, 11.15S FERRY HORNET (2) M 12-1, 12.15S MAREK (2) M 12-1, 13.15S COURAGE (2) M 12-1.

Newcastle programme with form for televised races

Table with 2 columns: Race Name and Details. Includes 3.05 Puffin Warrior, 3.05 Rebel Country, 3.05 Silky Bay, 3.05 Grand Mission, 3.05 Puffin Warrior, 3.05 Rebel Country, 3.05 Silky Bay, 3.05 Grand Mission.

Channel 4

Table with 2 columns: Race Name and Details. Includes 2.05 UK LAND ESTATES CUP HANDICAP 2Y F 12 CLAS, 1.05S TRENCHARD (2) M 12-1, 2.05S SALLY (2) M 12-1, 3.05S YOUNG DAWG (2) M 12-1, 4.05S SALLY (2) M 12-1, 5.05S YOUNG DAWG (2) M 12-1, 6.05S YOUNG DAWG (2) M 12-1, 7.05S YOUNG DAWG (2) M 12-1.

Channel 4

Table with 2 columns: Race Name and Details. Includes 2.35 NEWCASTLE SPORTING CLUB HANDICAP 2YO 1m 23.00, 1.25S SHERIDAN (2) M 12-1, 2.25S SHERIDAN (2) M 12-1, 3.25S SHERIDAN (2) M 12-1, 4.25S SHERIDAN (2) M 12-1, 5.25S SHERIDAN (2) M 12-1, 6.25S SHERIDAN (2) M 12-1, 7.25S SHERIDAN (2) M 12-1, 8.25S SHERIDAN (2) M 12-1, 9.25S SHERIDAN (2) M 12-1, 10.25S SHERIDAN (2) M 12-1.

Channel 4

Table with 2 columns: Race Name and Details. Includes 3.40 NORTHERN REGIONAL ASSEMBLY BIRDSON VERGARA HANDICAP 1m 23.00, 1.40S SHERIDAN (2) M 12-1, 2.40S SHERIDAN (2) M 12-1, 3.40S SHERIDAN (2) M 12-1, 4.40S SHERIDAN (2) M 12-1, 5.40S SHERIDAN (2) M 12-1, 6.40S SHERIDAN (2) M 12-1, 7.40S SHERIDAN (2) M 12-1, 8.40S SHERIDAN (2) M 12-1, 9.40S SHERIDAN (2) M 12-1, 10.40S SHERIDAN (2) M 12-1.

Channel 4

Table with 2 columns: Race Name and Details. Includes 4.05 NEW STABLEY BACHMAN STAKES 2YO 1m 23.00, 1.05S SHERIDAN (2) M 12-1, 2.05S SHERIDAN (2) M 12-1, 3.05S SHERIDAN (2) M 12-1, 4.05S SHERIDAN (2) M 12-1, 5.05S SHERIDAN (2) M 12-1, 6.05S SHERIDAN (2) M 12-1, 7.05S SHERIDAN (2) M 12-1, 8.05S SHERIDAN (2) M 12-1, 9.05S SHERIDAN (2) M 12-1, 10.05S SHERIDAN (2) M 12-1.

Newcastle programme with form for televised races

Table with 2 columns: Race Name and Details. Includes 3.05 Puffin Warrior, 3.05 Rebel Country, 3.05 Silky Bay, 3.05 Grand Mission, 3.05 Puffin Warrior, 3.05 Rebel Country, 3.05 Silky Bay, 3.05 Grand Mission.

Channel 4

Table with 2 columns: Race Name and Details. Includes 2.05 UK LAND ESTATES CUP HANDICAP 2Y F 12 CLAS, 1.05S TRENCHARD (2) M 12-1, 2.05S SALLY (2) M 12-1, 3.05S YOUNG DAWG (2) M 12-1, 4.05S SALLY (2) M 12-1, 5.05S YOUNG DAWG (2) M 12-1, 6.05S YOUNG DAWG (2) M 12-1, 7.05S YOUNG DAWG (2) M 12-1.

Channel 4

Table with 2 columns: Race Name and Details. Includes 2.35 NEWCASTLE SPORTING CLUB HANDICAP 2YO 1m 23.00, 1.25S SHERIDAN (2) M 12-1, 2.25S SHERIDAN (2) M 12-1, 3.25S SHERIDAN (2) M 12-1, 4.25S SHERIDAN (2) M 12-1, 5.25S SHERIDAN (2) M 12-1, 6.25S SHERIDAN (2) M 12-1, 7.25S SHERIDAN (2) M 12-1, 8.25S SHERIDAN (2) M 12-1, 9.25S SHERIDAN (2) M 12-1, 10.25S SHERIDAN (2) M 12-1.

Channel 4

Table with 2 columns: Race Name and Details. Includes 3.40 NORTHERN REGIONAL ASSEMBLY BIRDSON VERGARA HANDICAP 1m 23.00, 1.40S SHERIDAN (2) M 12-1, 2.40S SHERIDAN (2) M 12-1, 3.40S SHERIDAN (2) M 12-1, 4.40S SHERIDAN (2) M 12-1, 5.40S SHERIDAN (2) M 12-1, 6.40S SHERIDAN (2) M 12-1, 7.40S SHERIDAN (2) M 12-1, 8.40S SHERIDAN (2) M 12-1, 9.40S SHERIDAN (2) M 12-1, 10.40S SHERIDAN (2) M 12-1.

Channel 4

Table with 2 columns: Race Name and Details. Includes 4.05 NEW STABLEY BACHMAN STAKES 2YO 1m 23.00, 1.05S SHERIDAN (2) M 12-1, 2.05S SHERIDAN (2) M 12-1, 3.05S SHERIDAN (2) M 12-1, 4.05S SHERIDAN (2) M 12-1, 5.05S SHERIDAN (2) M 12-1, 6.05S SHERIDAN (2) M 12-1, 7.05S SHERIDAN (2) M 12-1, 8.05S SHERIDAN (2) M 12-1, 9.05S SHERIDAN (2) M 12-1, 10.05S SHERIDAN (2) M 12-1.



صوتك من الامل

Warwick runners and riders

Table of Warwick horse racing results including race numbers, names, and winners.

Fontwell (N.H.)

Table of Fontwell horse racing results including race numbers, names, and winners.

Fontwell (N.H.)

Table of Fontwell horse racing results including race numbers, names, and winners.

Rugby Union

Second Test: S Africa 26, N Zealand 33

All Blacks the best yet

IAN BORTHWICK IN PRETORIA. FIFTEEN-MAN rugby is one of the great clichés of the game but after New Zealand's historic win on Saturday the tired old expression has taken on a new meaning.

Chepstow

Table of Chepstow horse racing results including race numbers, names, and winners.

Huntingdon (N.H.)

Table of Huntingdon horse racing results including race numbers, names, and winners.

Huntingdon (N.H.)

Table of Huntingdon horse racing results including race numbers, names, and winners.

International: Wales 31, Barbarians 10

Anxious Wales accentuate the negative

LEIGH DAVIES, last season's most influential player, was more shadow than substance; and Iwan Evans, through no fault of his own, was reduced to anonymity for long periods.

Cartmel (N.H.)

Table of Cartmel horse racing results including race numbers, names, and winners.

Newton Abbot (N.H.)

Table of Newton Abbot horse racing results including race numbers, names, and winners.

Southwell (N.H.)

Table of Southwell horse racing results including race numbers, names, and winners.

Tigers face French test in final

LEICESTER will play Leinster today in the final of the International Challenge Cup at Welford Road.

Results

Table of horse racing results for various tracks including Newcastle, Epson, Ripon, Cheltenham, and Warwick.

REDCAR

Table of horse racing results for Redcar including race numbers, names, and winners.

NOTTINGHAM

Table of horse racing results for Nottingham including race numbers, names, and winners.

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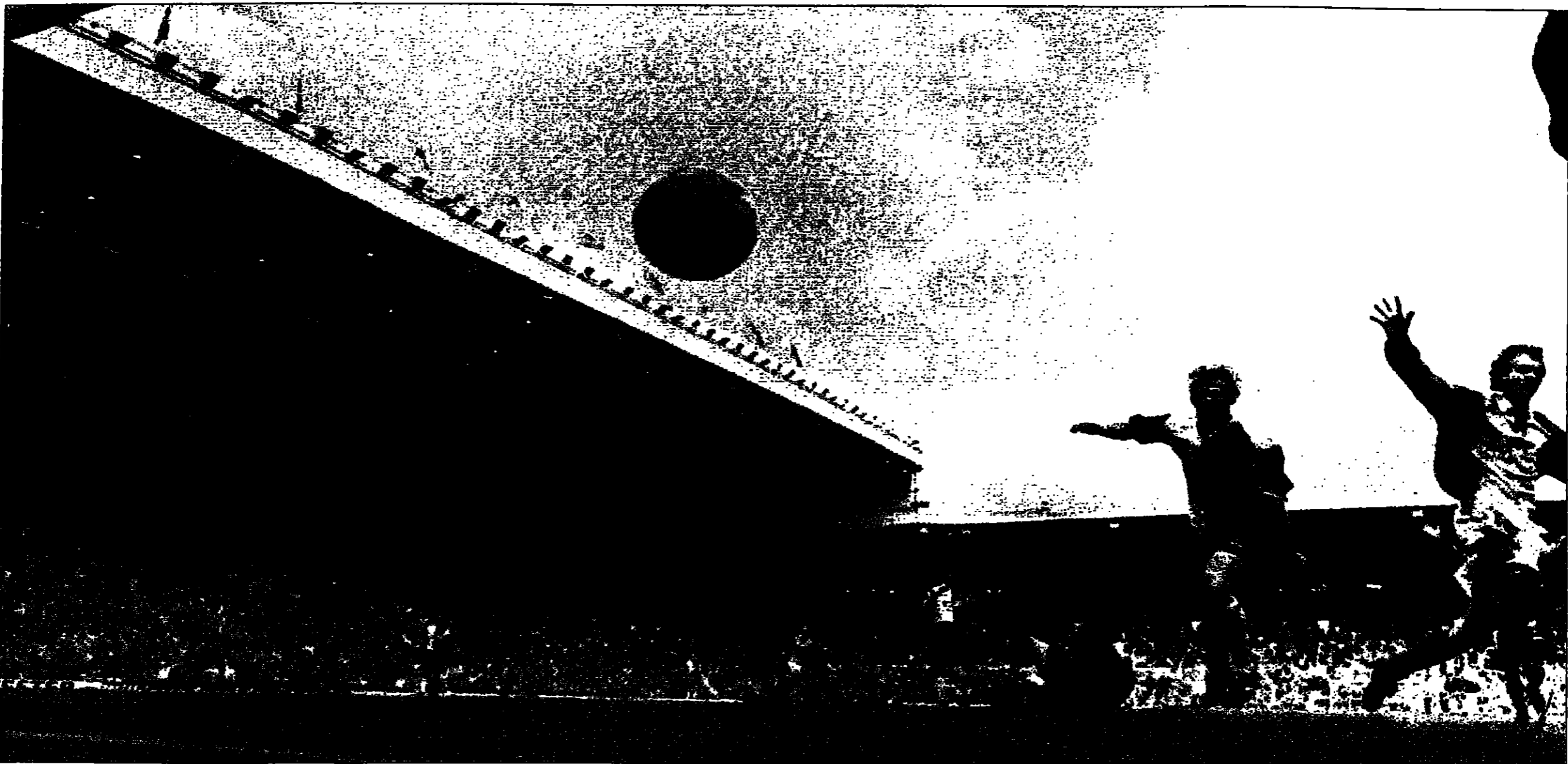
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Sky high... Jordi Cruyff wheels away after scoring Manchester United's first goal at Old Trafford yesterday, following a mistake by the Blackburn Rovers defender Colin Hendry

PHOTOGRAPH: MICHAEL STEELE

Premiership: Manchester United 2, Blackburn Rovers 2

# Rovers denied a sweet sensation

David Lacey

**A**LL of a sudden Manchester United are a home defeat waiting to happen. It is 20 months since they last lost at Old Trafford in the Premiership but in less than a week Everton and now Blackburn Rovers have led the champions on their own ground before being held to 2-2 draws. Yesterday Blackburn were denied the sweetest of victories by a baby-faced 23-year-old Norwegian, Ole Gunnar Solskjaer, who within nine

minutes of making his first league appearance for United brought the scores level for the second and last time. But for the goalkeeping of Tim Flowers Manchester United would have won the game in the closing minutes, an outcome which would have done scant justice to the way Rovers had controlled the better part of it. Blackburn were still entitled to take more satisfaction from the afternoon. They came to Old Trafford pointless and goalless after defeats by Tottenham and Aston Villa. The departure of Alan Shearer to Newcastle United,

rather than Kenny Dalglish to the golf course, had left Ewood Park in a state of shock and Manchester United's summer-long overtures to the England striker had hardly improved relationships between the clubs. But yesterday, playing without an orthodox centre-forward and dominating the midfield for an hour, Blackburn took on United at their own counter-attacking game and preyed on the generous amount of space Alex Ferguson's defence continued to allow the opposition. Considering the number of times Gallacher appeared be-

tween the United centre-backs May and Pallister in the first 45 minutes, Blackburn could have won the match by half-time. Ray Harford, the Rovers manager, thought so. "We should have been at least two goals clear by then," he said, "but we were getting people into good positions and then choosing the wrong options." Certainly Blackburn should have exploited the regularity with which Dennis, their free Greek from Panathinaikos, was turning United's defence on the right. Essentially, however, Blackburn's initial superior-

ity sprang from the command established in midfield by Bohinen - a member of the Nottingham Forest side who were the last to win in the league at Old Trafford, in December 1994 - and Tim Sherwood. Again Manchester United were given a foretaste of how difficult life is likely to be until Keane returns after a knee operation. Their other Norwegian signing Johnsen filled in for Keane adequately enough but without providing the drive the Irishman gives the team. But, another casualty, was also missed. After Ferguson had made a crucial substitution, bringing

on Solskjaer for May, Johnsen reverted to his normal position at centre-back. But to the last United were vulnerable at the back. In fact they were again out of sorts all round. Beckham is not the first young footballer to be dazed at the prospect of playing for England and it showed. Cantons was stifled by tight covering until late on and only the swift interchanges of position between Giggs and Cruyff unsettled Blackburn's defenders. Even then Rovers rather allowed Manchester United back into the match after going ahead in the 33rd minute

when Gallacher met Ripley's centre from the left with a glancing header and Warhurst forced the ball in, Schmeichel having failed to hold it on the goaline. Five minutes later Hendry, attempting to nod Schmeichel's long clearance back to Flowers, merely set up Cruyff to lob the scores level. Five minutes after half-time Bohinen gathered a ball from Sherwood on the right, drew clear of McClair and turned inside Irwin before beating Schmeichel at the near post to restore Blackburn's lead. Then Rovers began to think of holding what they had, the

midfield pressure eased and victory slipped away. Solskjaer, skilful and quick, was an immediate influence. In the 60th minute Cruyff touched on another huge kick from Schmeichel and the young Norwegian volleyed in United's second goal on the rebound after seeing Flowers block his first shot. Flowers then denied Old Trafford a win with late saves from Pallister and Beckham. "That was the best Blackburn have played against us in recent years," Ferguson admitted. But Rovers would have preferred three points to consoling words.

Nottingham Forest 1, Middlesbrough 1

## Emerson and Jerkan add to traditional virtues

Commentary

David Lacey

**T**HERE was a time when a match between Nottingham Forest and Middlesbrough would have represented the mainstream of English league football. This would have applied, moreover, in whatever division the fixture happened to be played. Because the clubs share a tradition of good passing, these games would often develop a pleasing flow. If Brian Clough was playing, goals against Forest would have to be carved out of granite. To score against Middlesbrough it was necessary to overrun ramparts manned by such ironclads as Spraggon and Boam. Burns and Lloyd barred the way for Forest and even if these defenders were beaten, there was still the small matter of putting the ball past Shilton. Times change. When an encounter between Boro and Forest depends, to a large extent, on two Brazilians and an Italian outwitting a Croatian and a Norwegian, then things are hardly what they used to be. Yet even before Stuart Pearce, that most English of footballers, delivered a left-footed rocket of a free-kick into the far corner of the Middlesbrough net to gain Nottingham Forest a point at the City Ground on Saturday it was clear that overseas imports alone will not de-Anglicise the Premiership. In fact this match, which after a studious prelude provided a second half of exhilarating cut-and-thrust, suggested that, far from turning the English game into a hybrid, the skills being bought from abroad will enhance its traditional virtues of speed, resilience and the will to win. Take Emerson, a dark, shaggy-haired tree trunk of a midfielder who is already looking a snip at \$4 million. Having played for Porto on the Atlantic seaboard, the Brazilian will have been used to the sort of rain which

swept across in the second half. But the Portuguese league rarely sees matches of such sustained pace. Emerson enjoyed himself hugely. He clearly loves a hard tackle and his strength in winning the ball lay at the heart of Middlesbrough's first-half superiority. His presence has given Forest's original Brazilian, Juninho, a new meaning to life. Early in the second half Emerson strode clear of Allen and Bart-Williams on the right and, with the Forest defence strung out like a line of washing, laid the ball square to Juninho, who drove it past Crossley from 20 yards. "At times we were trying to score from impossible angles," Bryan Robson observed after the game. "If we had crossed the ball instead of shooting, Barmby must have found the net." For a manager who has seen the season's best money spent on Ravanelli but after three matches has yet to see Middlesbrough win, Robson's general state of calm offered a sharp contrast to the wailing and gnashing of teeth a few miles up the north-east coast. Then again, he has the advantage of not being a Messiah. However, given the amount of possession Robson's team enjoyed, and the fact that they finished the match playing with three men up in pursuit of victory, they should have scored more than once. Robson's point about Barmby was well made. Yet it would have been academic

had Ravanelli reproduced the finishing touch which had brought him a hat-trick against Liverpool on the opening day. Instead the Italian suffered an afternoon of scuffed opportunities and came off looking footless. Two of the reasons why Ravanelli made less of an impact were a unyielding Croatian obstacle called Jerkan and the inspired Pearce. Playing in a three-man defence which at times struggled to cope with Middlesbrough's mobility up front, Pearce's performance augured well for England. His equaliser, driven unerringly past Miller from the right-hand corner of the penalty area midway through the second half, added momentum to a Forest revival. Either side could have grabbed a winning goal in the closing minutes of a match which offered a strong reminder that the Premiership is not only about Alex Ferguson, Kevin Keegan and whoever happens to be managing Arsenal this week. It was a pity the referee, Mike Riley, seemed to be watching a different game. He cautioned nine players, six of them visitors, and ended the match by sending off the Boro defender Pearson for a second bookable offence. As Robson said: "There wasn't one bad tackle in the game." The Leeds official is new to the Premiership list. Another robo-ref is about the last thing English football needs right now.

West Ham United 2, Southampton 1

## McManaman out and Batty doubt for Moldova

**G**LENN HODDLE'S first England squad shrank further yesterday with the withdrawal of Liverpool's Steve McManaman and Robbie Fowler from the party which will travel to Moldova for Sunday's opening World Cup qualifying fixture, writes Ian Ross. The Liverpool pair aggravated injuries during Saturday's goalless draw with Sunderland at Anfield and there was further bad news for Hoddle with Newcastle's Steve Howey and David Batty also reporting injuries. Everton's 27-year-old uncapped left-back Andy Hinchcliffe was yesterday added to the squad from which Tottenham's Darren Anderton withdrew last Friday. McManaman is suffering from the recurrence of a long-standing hamstring problem while Fowler requires further treatment on a painful lower back injury. "Believe me, both of them are very upset because they desperately wanted to be involved in this particular fixture," said Mark Leather, Liverpool's physiotherapist.

"After three games in eight days both men are suffering somewhat. They will have scans and X-rays in midweek and we will take it from there." However, who missed Euro 96 after damaging a ligament, broke a toe in Saturday's game against Sheffield Wednesday while Batty sprained an ankle. Both are rated doubtful for Sunday's game. All four of the injured travelled down to meet up with the team at their Buckinghamshire hotel last night. Hinchcliffe's elevation comes as a major surprise, although Hoddle is without the injured Phil Neville of Manchester United and Blackburn's Graeme Le Saux. The former Manchester City defender made a single England Under-21 appearance against Denmark in a goalless draw at Watford's Vicarage Road ground in September 1988. Hinchcliffe, who is renowned for his dead-ball prowess, has been selected ahead of Aston Villa's Alan Wright as the understudy to Stuart Pearce, who has been persuaded to continue his international career.

Liverpool 0, Sunderland 0

## Le Tissier the invisible man

**A**S Matthew Le Tissier's before-kick-off a silver of lightning split the East London skyline, apparently on course to frazzle Barking. Rolls of thunder followed, then rain and finally brilliant sunshine. It was as if the elements were setting down for Le Tissier to do the Bix, whip-cracking a 40-yard free-kick into Ludovic Mikkelsen's top corner. But lightning never strikes twice. Le Tissier was hardly noticeable. Never did a thing, really. All of which will be of interest, if not concern, to Glenn Hoddle who was rapidly redoing his calculations last night when McManaman joined Anderton on the England casualty list for the trip to Moldova. By all accounts Le Tissier had been no more visible against Leicester in midweek and at Southampton the previous Sunday. Le Tissier admitted to being "disappointed" by his current form and even

his club manager Graeme Souness says that "he's not really started yet this season". The most frequent criticism levelled at Le Tissier is lack of pace and mobility. Add to that a disturbing tendency to give the ball away and you could be forgiven for thinking that he would do well to hold down a place in Southampton. In fact he remains a wonderfully gifted footballer restricted by playing in an obviously average team. "He was disappointing," said Slaven Bilic, West Ham's eloquent Croatian who had little trouble mastering Le Tissier's limited threat. "I made a point of going over to him at the end to congratulate him on his England call-up. He deserves it because he is one of the most skilful players in the Premiership. "But, with all respect to Southampton, it would be easier for him and he would show more talent if he were to play in a better side. I mean Manchester United or even West Ham - yes, we would spend a few quid on him, but as a Channel Islander he

might just fit West Ham's current obsession with all things continental. Not that the policy seems misguided. The Portuguese Futre was magnificent on Saturday, a shimmering streak of hair and heart who tormented Southampton with his pace. Romania's Raducioiu, a first-half substitute for Rieper, also impressed and, had Dowie not been in cloud-hopper mode, West Ham might have scored five. As it was, their two goals proved sufficient after Heaney had put Southampton ahead with a 19th-minute chip over Mikkelsen. The equaliser eventually came on 73 minutes when Hughes hit a stunning left-foot volley past Beasant. Eight minutes later Mr Elleray awarded a penalty when Dumitrescu stumbled over Dodd, and Dicks did the needful. The visitors' discomfort was made all the more acute when Benali was sent off for dismembering Futre late on. One week gone and already Southampton's problems are mounting. You can expect more of the same.

## Referee given escort after throw-in goal at Barnsley

**G**URNAM SINGH, the Wolverhampton referee, needed a police escort as he left the Oakwell pitch at half-time yesterday. Barnsley supporters were incensed after visitors Huddersfield were given an equalising goal two minutes before the break in the First Division match that Barnsley eventually won 3-1. The referee ruled that Andy Morrison had got his head to Tom Cowan's long throw but furious Barnsley players and officials claimed the ball looped over the Huddersfield centre-back as well as the Barnsley goalkeeper David

Watson, direct from the hands of the left-back. Barnsley's second League win of the new season was equally settled by the Trinidadian import Clint Maricle, signed on a free transfer from the Portuguese club Felgueiras, who marked his home debut with a spectacular goal from a 70th-minute chip. The Leeds United full-back Tony Dorico may make his first Premiership appearance for six months against Wimbledon at Elland Road tonight. Dorico has been suffering hamstring trouble.

Liverpool 0, Sunderland 0

## Collymore and Liverpool less than clear-cut

**I**n a week when Matthew Le Tissier's return to the international fold suggested that every discard of genuine class will always find himself pushing at an open door, no one saw fit to mention the name of Stan Collymore. The one-time self-publicist with the knack of rubbing it in the wrong way even the most timid of souls will spend the coming weekend pondering an uncertain future while his country's World Cup campaign opens in Moldova. So whatever happened to poor old Stan? Twelve months ago Collymore was British football's most expensive player at \$2.5 million. He was flashy, overbearingly confident and not averse to verbally punching the nose of a largely unsympathetic public. He did not play particularly well last season but that, we were all assured, was nothing

more than a curable case of small-pond to big-pond syndrome. "Give him time" pleaded the apologists as they marched through Anfield's corridors of power defending Collymore's performance on the pitch and his ill-judged sentiments off it. Unfortunately for Collymore, time is modern football's most precious commodity and, with the new season still some way short of puberty, it is fast running out. He did well to bluff his way through to the 81st minute before the first audible cry of "get him off" rolled down the main stand. The truth is that, if Liverpool possessed a third front-line striker, Collymore would probably have been back in the dressing-room, if not on the bench, long before his side's efforts to overcome mediocre opposition veered towards the embarrassing. Collymore was awful but, with the possible exception of

Mark Wright, so too were all the men in red. In what was a confusing match and a poor spectacle Liverpool were often too elaborate, Sunderland always too orthodox. It was for occasions such as these that the "Wearsiders" glorious pick-n-mix ran through walls en route to the First Division title in May, but their ambition is unlikely to embrace much more than survival in the months ahead. "I can't really remember Liverpool having a clear-cut chance," mused Sunderland's manager Peter Reid. Indeed, the better openings fell to Reid's team but Niall Quinn took the edge off an otherwise proficient personal performance by squandering two simple chances. "I don't want to get technical because I'm crap at it but we have come through our first three games without looking out of our depth," said Reid. If only Collymore could make such a claim.



Holding company... Boro's Whelan with Campbell

Rugby Union  
Wales try for  
annual Test series  
against Australia  
and South Africa

Football  
Manchester  
United survive  
another scare  
at Old Trafford

# SportExtra



Pole vault... Jacques Villeneuve in the Williams-Renault leads Michael Schumacher's Ferrari into La Source hairpin

PHOTOGRAPH: JEROME DELAY

Villeneuve reduces his World Championship deficit but is denied victory

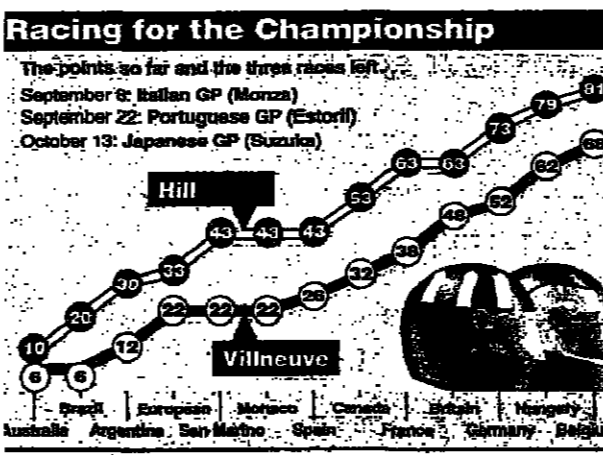
## Hill clings on

Alan Henry at Spa on the radio foul-up that cost Williams dear

**M**ICHAEL Schumacher did his arch-rival Damon Hill a rare favour yesterday with a gripping victory in the Belgian Grand Prix that ensured Jacques Villeneuve had to settle for second place. The Ferrari driver's performance on this high-speed track could prove decisive if Hill were to scrape home with the world championship having allowed the momentum to pass to his Williams teammate Villeneuve. With Hill battling home fifth after another strategically muddled race, he could count himself lucky that he had lost only four world championship points to Villeneuve. He now has a 13-point lead with three races and 30 points on offer for the winners remaining. "In a way it was a relief to get two points," said Hill. "I thought that Jacques might win and I was not going to get any points at all at one time but I have to admit that 13 points is not what I would call a comfortable lead in the championship." He said he

was not despondent but emphasised: "I think the team under-performed as a whole." Villeneuve had taken an immediate lead from pole ahead of Schumacher's Ferrari, which had burst through from the second row to seize second place ahead of Hill. The Briton's problems were then compounded when David Coulthard's McLaren-Mercedes surged past into third place on the 190 mph climb to the Les Combes corner. Hill, who had taken the spare car shortly before the start, found himself battling a serious handling imbalance on his first set of tyres. But he settled down to run fourth in the opening stages, although he was steadily dropping away from the leaders. As the race began using the opportunity to make pit-stops, a foul-up with the radio communication between Ville-

neuve and the pit crew meant the Canadian did not hear the instructions to come in and refuel at the end of lap 14. He stayed out and came in the following lap, scrambling the team's retelling plans as Hill was preparing to come in at the same time. They told Hill to stay out for another lap, but he had to dodge through the barriers in the pit entrance lane and lost time before finally coming in at the end of the next lap. Hill was down in 11th place when he resumed with a gaggle of slower cars ahead of him. By lap 20 he was up to ninth, and up to fifth by lap 25 before dropping back to sixth after his second retelling stop on lap 34. Now the order was Schumacher, Villeneuve, Mika Hakkinen in the McLaren, Jean Alesi in the Benetton and Coulthard in the other McLaren ahead of Hill. He moved back to fifth when Coulthard spun off on lap 38 and remained there until the chequered flag. In the closing stages Schumacher eased away from Villeneuve to finish with over five seconds in hand over the hard-driven Williams. "The communication problem cost us the race," said the Williams chief designer



## Keegan keeps his head but still seeks his balance

**P**POINTING to the press box, the disgruntled fan shouted: "Here, write this down. That mob are a bad lot. I'm telling you, they'll go down." Perhaps surprisingly, given the inept display he had just seen and the boos echoing around St James' Park, the grumpy Geordie was referring not to Newcastle but to Wednesday. As they had just walked off with three more points to top the first worthwhile Premiership table and Newcastle's players were in the dressing-room being harangued by the manager Kevin Keegan, the fan's comment seemed a touch unreasonable. Thousands of others took a different view from Mr Grumpy: it was Newcastle who were the bad lot and for the first time in the Keegan era a side in black and white was jeered off the pitch. Keegan's relaxed demeanour did not suggest a man on the verge of a crisis, yet his words carried a weight beyond their calm delivery. "The fans have always decided who manages this club," he said. "They get rid of him when they want to but we are not talking about funerals yet. Don't get too depressed." The most telling comment of all was Keegan's admission that he has yet to find the right balance and does not know how long that process

will take. "I've been trying a different way of playing. If we scored four in the first 15 minutes everyone would be raving about how unorthodox we are." As it was, Newcastle scored only once, and that was the result of Faustino Asprilla "winning" a penalty. Shearer struck it away emphatically but the goal signalled the end of Newcastle's early charge rather than the beginning of a rout. There were other chances, notably Shearer clipping the bar, but Wednesday's manager David Pleat was correct in his assertion that Pressman was not exactly forced into a string of saves. Football fans are not stupid and to most Geordies the cause of the imbalance is obvious. They will reserve judgment on the Ferdinand-Shearer pairing but on Saturday the two centre-forwards were joined by a third in Asprilla. The Colombian does not seem content to lie wide on the right and whip in crosses for the others to score. That may not be his brief but the result is a lack of width. The player who deserves most sympathy because of this is Ferdinand, who has found two men occupying the turf that was his alone last season. On the other flank Ginola had another poor 90 minutes. His declaration yesterday that the present system does not suit him "because I spend more time defending than I do attacking" will find little sup-

port among fans and his departure, possibly to Arsenal, may not be far away. Meanwhile Beardley and Gillespie sit on the bench watching through their fingers as the defence disintegrates. In this form, if Howey is an England player, then so are most of us. Keegan's purchase of Shearer was understandable in the context of denying Manchester United but it is his side's back line that requires urgent attention, and it has done for some time. Whittingham the winner could be excused as a one-off mistake but the general sloppiness that enabled Atherton to equalise so soon after Shearer's goal was indicative of greater overall deficiencies. Wednesday were not flattered by the result. Snieck made a fine full-length save from Whittingham in the first half and the 18-year-old Humphreys twice shivered the Newcastle woodwork with dipping volleys. In midfield Collins and Blinks were tenacious and skilful throughout and Pleat said that after a year he has finally instigated the changes to playing and backroom staff that he wanted. And what a difference a year makes. In the third game of last season Newcastle won 2-0 at Hillsborough, a result that left Wednesday 14th, one place above where they finished. Newcastle went top.

## False alarm over Ferguson

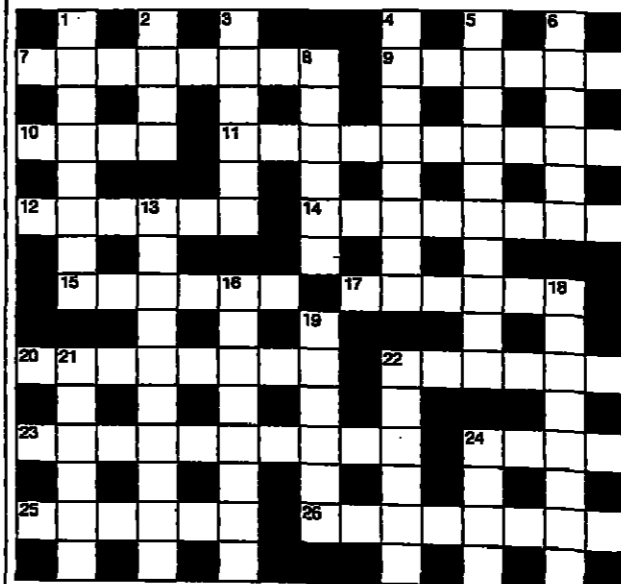
**T**O JUDGE by the pre-match hype, sirens would be waiting for 90 minutes at White Hart Lane to greet Duncan Ferguson and his flying Everton. This, in itself, proved a false alarm. Tottenham's season, at least at home, so far refuses to launch. Much the same could be said on Saturday of the towering Ferguson, on whose back Everton are threatening to scale the Premiership. On this evidence the sights of both clubs have been set too high. Despite this dip in early-season form Everton looked like a team waiting to happen. It is, as Joe Royle knows, a difficult leap to make, even if he will soon be flush with a substantial slice of £15 million from a new share issue. Tottenham appeared several steps behind in development, although for Gerry Francis the immediate necessity is to get to the

doctor rather than back to the drawing-board. Francis must feel as if he has been triple-crossed with the Premiership plot only a week old — first Mabbutt, then Anderton, now Armstrong injured. As the striker hobbled off, with ankle and suspected Achilles damage, the Tottenham manager's head shook in a curious mixture of frustration and despair. This was just before the half-hour; Everton's bench were already deeply irritated. The visitors' mood gradually improved, despite a glaring miss by Short. And, even if Ferguson could not exploit two escapes from Campbell's clutches, the ground-based assault of Kanchelskis would surely deliver. The galloping winger was the focal point of Everton's second-half attacking. His failure to capitalise spoke volumes for Wilson's clever and calm defending. The pace of Kanchelskis and the thoughtful perfor-

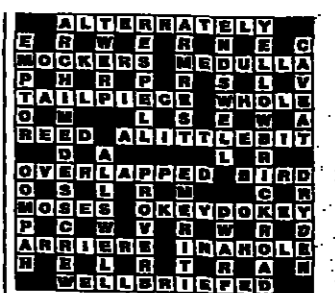
mance of his main provider, the 21-year-old Grant, substantiated Royle's side-swipe that Everton are "not just the Duncan Ferguson show". Royle knows that he possesses a rare specimen — "Do you know anybody who can jump higher than the crossbar?" — in the 6ft 4in striker. The clear temptation is Route One, direct flight to Ferguson's head. Royle sees a danger: "You have to be careful that you don't overload it. In any case he's very adept on the floor." Campbell, if selected by England's new coach, is unlikely to confront anybody remotely like Ferguson in Moldova next Sunday. According to Francis, Campbell, one short of his 100th league game, is ready to start an international, whether at centre-back or elsewhere. "I wouldn't have any qualms about Sol playing if Glenn Hoddle picks him. He can play anywhere."

## Guardian Crossword No 20,741

Set by Crispa



- Across**
- 7 Publicises tour for down-to-earth travellers (3-5)
  - 9 A man of learning and potential in Iran (6)
  - 10 The best advocates accommodating none (4)
  - 11 Change the blend of tea on trial (10)
  - 12 A large number trained, though disabled (6)
  - 14 This drink is put into a bag, note (8)
  - 15 Directed police offensive (6)
  - 17 Join people in going wrong etc (6)
  - 20 Cold remains — simple stuff (6-4)
  - 22 Took things easy the Oriental way when in debt (6)
  - 23 Masons, yet they're not to be trusted (10)
- Down**
- 1 An old creature lumbering around is confused (8)
  - 2 He spends some time in the House raising various points (4)
  - 3 Go astray and there'll be a charge made (5)
  - 4 What determines how much a person has up top (6)
  - 5 They imprison neat writers! (6-4)
  - 6 Arrange to invest (3,3)
  - 8 A snooker-player at the bar? (6)
  - 13 The cars men get adapted for city use (10)



WINNERS OF PRIZE PUZZLES 20,741  
This week's winners of a Collins English Dictionary are Dr A Wynne of Barnes, London, Mrs J Brown of Leeds, Christine Potter of Bridgwater, Somerset, John Devine of Littleover, Derbyshire, and Michael Smith of North Pickenham, Norfolk.

- 16 No practical individual wants a fancy catalogue (8)
- 18 Places of entertainment causing the shedding of tears (8)
- 19 Certain about exercise being responsible for remission (8)
- 21 Dressed stone and wood god (6)
- 22 Phone about one's appearing (8)
- 24 Permit to overtake (4)

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**The final problem for the BBC in pressing forward its case is that it has spent much of the past year in a form of striptease, unveiling a portion of its 10-year plans for digital multi-channel television but providing little hard information.**  
Maggie Brown on John Birt's Edinburgh speech

